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"The Greek View of Life"—is it One or is it Many?
A professor of philosophy examines "cultural monism."

Who Were the Greeks?

George Boas

IT IS THE CUSTOM for certain people who shall be left anonymous to speak wistfully or resentfully of *The Greek View of Life*, of *hellenism* as contrasted with *hebraism*, of *Greek moderation*, of the youthful civilization of Greece, and so on, a list of terms which could easily be extended by anyone versed in histories of philosophy, art, and literature. Just when the habit of referring ideas and ways of life to whole peoples began, I have no way of knowing. That it became commonplace only after such writers as Herder and Vico began to have influence, is probable. And by now it seems to be accepted as true. Hence commencement orators, professors of the Classics, certain *laudatores temporis acti*, spiritual descendants of Keats via Tennyson, and of Winckelmann via Alma-Tadema, as well as all practitioners of *Geistesgeschichte*, take it for granted that there was a people named *The Greeks* and that they all held in common certain aesthetic, certain political, and even certain ethical ideals. The aesthetic

ideals are usually echoes of Aristotle's *Poetics* as phrased by Horace; the political are a belief in something called "freedom" and hatred of people called "tyrants"; the ethical a revulsion against "excess" coupled with a love of self-knowledge.

Happy the historian, as Anatole France once suggested, who has but one text. So long as we have but one Thucydides, we can write the history of the Peloponnesian War without fear of contradiction, and so long as we have but Pausanias, who is to refute our statements about the styles of lost artists? But we might be expected after so many centuries of recorded history to be a bit suspicious, to wake up to the fact that no single record tells the whole truth, and that in some cases the other side of the question which puzzles us once was written up and now is lost. Thus in a field in which I am less ignorant than in others, the history of philosophy, we have only negligible fragments of the colonial Greek philosophers, fragments preserved out of context and for forensic reasons; of the Sophists we have nothing except the famous "Man is the measure of all things"; of Epicurus and Zeno the Stoic, nothing systematic; of Aristippus, Antisthenes, and Pyrrho, nothing but their names and some legends. Diogenes of Sinope is a series of anecdotes. Pythagoras is so vague a figure as to make some think that he never existed. But so imperious is the demand for a history of philosophy that every Freshman learns of the doc-

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trines of these men and others, and seldom learns how shaky is the evidence on which the lectures which he hears are based.

But we do know at least one thing: that in the field of philosophy there was as much divergence of opinion as there is today. We may not know anything to speak of about the details of colonial Greek philosophy, but we do know that there were opposing currents of ideas as early as there was any philosophy at all. In fact, the best evidence that there was no Greek philosophy believed in by all Greek philosophers is the texts that survive from which such a Greek philosophy is usually extracted. For these texts, the dialogues of Plato and the Aristotelian corpus, are in part given over to refuting the views of people who did not agree with them. We cannot claim to know precisely what the various early Sophists said, but we do know that they disagreed with Socrates and Plato and we know furthermore that a great many Greeks sided with them. In other words, just as the Greek cities were always at odds with one another and just as Athenian statesmen seldom hesitated to switch allegiance, like feudal chieftains in northern Europe later on, so the Greek philosophers were in continual strife and, like their spiritual children of the American Philosophical Association, were more given to debate than to agreement.

But the same is true in every domain of human interest. The political constitutions of the various Greek cities were far from being all alike. What was common to Athens and Sparta beyond the fact that the citizens of both spoke some kind of Greek? Every document that is left emphasizes the differences rather than the similarities between these two pre-eminent states. Why talk of Greek love of freedom if Sparta is Greek? One might with equal cogency speak of the Greek love of regimentation. But for that matter the political history of each Greek state shows similar diversities. In Athens the Thirty were as Greek as their opponents; the people who refused to listen to Demosthenes when he tried to wake them up to the Macedonian peril were as Greek as the orator; Alcibiades' peculiar political conduct cannot be attrib-

uted to the presence of alien corpuscles in his arteries. Are we to explain the differences between Themistocles and Aristides by the former's foreign blood?

It would be a good exercise for cultural monists, if the term be permissible, to take the following men and derive a common set of opinions from them: Socrates, Callicles, Solon, Epaminondas, Theognis, Euripides, Anacreon, Theophrastus, Zeno the Eleatic, Critias the Elder. Even the catch-words which identify these people in the encyclopedias emphasize their differences. But all these men lived within a few generations of one another. Are they Apollinian or Faustian? Are they devotees of moderation? Have they the spontaneity of the young? Are they serene and and untroubled by the accidents of temporal life? Do their calm eyes gaze upon eternity? Are they rationalistic? Do they manifest a "love of purity of line and of vital harmony"? Such are but those generalizations about the Greeks which occur to my memory. Any undergraduate turned loose in a room with the right books could raise dozens of other equally absurd questions.

One has but to consider the undeniable fact that there were people known as Greek, calling themselves Greek, writing in some dialect of Greek, scattered in time from the age of Homer to that of Lucian, and clearly my limits are too conservative. That is a time-span of over a thousand years, three hundred years longer than the time between Karl Shapiro and Chaucer, between Paul Valéry and the *Roman de la Rose*, between Rilke and Walther von der Vogelweide. The social history of this millennium shows as many changes as does the political or artistic history. The people of Lucian's time were not facing the same problems as those of Homer's, the social structure was not the same, the religious and philosophical and political and scientific atmospheres were not the same. Does it seem even plausible that any people, however stupid, could preserve the same outlook, for want of a vaguer term, on its environment for so long and under such varying conditions without perishing of sheer paralysis? Such intellectual rigidity has never

been found elsewhere and there is no *a priori* reason to believe that it could have existed in the Mediterranean Basin. Whatever else the Greeks were, they were human beings, equipped with the same organs as other human beings, facing the same problems as other human beings. When a human being lives in a homogeneous environment, cloistered so that no stranger can enter with upsetting innovations, free from attack and without lust of conquest, it is possible that his remote descendants may retain his philosophy and art and culture. But such was not the case in the Mediterranean Basin during the thousand years in question.

But similarly there were people known as Greeks scattered in space from the pillars of Hercules to the Pontus, and again I am conservative. Before the rise of the metropolitan culture of Athens, there were flourishing centers of artistic, or at any rate intellectual, activity in the colonies. The movement of culture ran from the periphery of the ancient world into the center and it was only after the fifth century that the flow ran outward again. For what could a man like Heraclitus learn from any contemporary Athenian? Can anyone doubt that the contribution of the early Stoics to Greek thought was tinged with what has been called "orientalism"? The first two Athenian philosophers, said by legend to have been called to Athens by Pericles—as Charlemagne later was to call an Englishman to Aix-la-Chapelle—came from Abdera and Clazomenae. It may or may not be true that Socrates and Euripides were "pupils" of these men, but it cannot be denied that their contemporaries were influenced by them. What they brought to Athens was different from what equally eminent philosophers from Magna Graecia might have brought. But this again is not strange, nor does it require explanation. Any cross-section of any civilization widely distributed in space will show the same sort of thing. Even in the United States we speak of the Chicago School, the Concord School, the Saint Louis School of philosophers, and we do not expect them all to have a common characteristic. It is not that spatial dispersal in itself produces differences

in thought, though of course it does to a certain extent, but that people living in different environments, cultural as well as economic, face different problems and hence have different interests.

It is now admitted that in "primitive" civilizations having a highly ritualized "pattern of culture," there are always some recalcitrant individuals, people who are possessed by a centrifugal force, who sit on the edge of things, not resigning themselves to conformity. Why not then admit that this would be truer in so long-lived and so widely distributed a civilization as that of Greece? Moreover, is there not something peculiarly inspiring in a culture which admits diversity, which is able to submit itself to the fertilization of other cultures, which has enough self-confidence to be unafraid of disagreement? The study of the Classics has been impoverished by those scholars who have insisted on picking out two or three men and maintaining that they and their opinions alone were Greece. One does not have to have much learning to know that such exercises are prejudiced and indeed false. Just as seventeenth-century France was Gassendi as well as Descartes, so fifth-century Athens was Protagoras as well as Socrates. What is gained by denying this?

By a simple logical trick any group of people may be said to be homogeneous. People living on one street, in one neighborhood, in one city, in one state, and hence in one world, all have something in common. If one is not too careful about giving concrete meaning to the supposed community of their interests, one can make the most edifying speeches about them. But it is equally true that such generalizations depend upon the neglecting of real diversities. Two children of the same family have a great deal in common, but they also have a great deal not in common, in fact and obviously, everything that individualizes them. It would be in the eyes of some writers a delightful thing if everyone agreed about everything, so that each man and woman would be above all a man or a woman. Glaucon's City of Pigs would probably be the result. But of course

its proponents would not call it that. They would call it the City of Humanity, Anthropopolis. But when they came to describe in detail what life in such a city would be, their best efforts would result only in the vaguest of generalities, unless they followed the usual technique of the Utopists and located their city nowhere. Man as Man, living nowhere, by the evident force of the terms involved has no inner differences. But let a political scientist or a sociologist or an anthropologist set up shop on the basis of dealing only with Man and not with specific men and the result will consist of precisely one sentence: *All men are men.*

In actual fact, even the supposedly basic interests of nutrition and sexuality are disciplined and channeled and oriented by society, and the social controls over these fundamental drives are so various that one could spend a lifetime studying them and still not complete one's work. It has therefore seemed reasonable to some scholars to study the diversities between societies and within given societies. If that is done, a new discovery is made: that the character of a people is as much determined by the inner tensions and conflicts, with resulting frustrations and compromises, as by any over-individual *Volksgeist*. Thus the Periclean Age, for instance, is as much the enemies of Pericles as Pericles himself, as much Anytus as Socrates, and the *Clouds* becomes as important an item in fixing "the Greek mind" as the *Apology*.

But if one is willing to take this attitude towards "The" Greeks, one notes a number of conclusions that emerge at once.

1. The representative Greek simply turns into what the statisticians would call the

modal Greek.

2. There will be no *Greek View of Life*, but several and possibly conflicting Greek views of life.

3. Since there were no Greek hermits records of whom have survived, Greek views of all sorts were developed in society. Hence their significance must be studied in the social context in which they were formulated and debated. Thus a good many of Plato's doctrines have relevance as criticisms of sophistry and can best be understood in that context. And Aristotle's historical comments, as Professor Cherniss has demonstrated with elegance and, one hopes, with finality, can be appreciated only as chapters in the presentation of his own philosophy.

4. The students of the Classics should at all times be specially wary of committing the sin of intellectual anachronism. This sin is usually committed in the fields of education and politics, though it frequently occurs also in the field of aesthetics.

If what has been said has any truth in it, there is still great and interesting work to be done in the Classics. The lassitude that has come over Classicists is largely attributable to preoccupations with philology, certainly highly necessary to the understanding of any text, but not of such exclusive importance as has sometimes been believed. But it is also caused by the superstitious reverence for the kind of *Geistesgeschichte* which assumes that the *Geist* is like the soul of an angel, beyond space and time, and also pure and undifferentiated. That superstition must be the first to be uprooted before any real understanding of the Greeks and their culture can be reached.

LATIN AND GREEK AT PHILLIPS EXETER

LAST YEAR considerable attention was given in the press to the lowering of requirements in Latin at Phillips Exeter Academy, one of the strongholds of the classical curriculum. "Contrary to some fears," says the *Phillips Exeter Bulletin* (Autumn, 1947; Vol. XLIV, 1, p. 1), "enrollment in the Classics has not fallen off appreciably. In fact, Greek and Latin 3 and 4 have actually

gained." (*Italics ours.*—Ed.) Other gains have been History 1, Physical Science 1 (but not other science courses), Art, Music, Geography, Bible. It is interesting to note that the students making these elections—i.e. the whole student body at Exeter—are drawn this year from 47 of the 48 states. Last year's seniors have gone to 45 different colleges.

" . . . in Grecian isles
By Bards who died content on pleasant sward
Leaving great verse unto a little clan . . . "

Theocritus in Hampstead

Frederika Beatty

Keats' debt to Spenser, to Homer, and to Shakespeare is well known; and no one who reads the poetry and the letters of the nineteenth-century poet can fail to catch echoes of Chaucer, Milton, and Dryden, of Dante and Boccaccio. It is the purpose of this essay to show that Keats was familiar, also, with the Idyls of Theocritus and that the first, the seventh, and the fifteenth idyls contributed ideas and images to some of his greatest poems.

KEATS DID NOT READ Greek but was saturated with themes Hellenic, getting his myths often from such unpoetic sources as Tooke's *Pantheon* and Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, as well as from Chapman's *Homer* and the marbles from the Parthenon placed by Lord Elgin in the British Museum. His enthusiasm for Homer made him eager to study the language, and he wrote to John Hamilton Reynolds from Teignmouth in April 1818:

"I have written to George for some Books—shall learn Greek, and very likely Italian—and

in other ways prepare myself to ask Hazlitt in about a year's time the best metaphysical road I can take. For although I take Poetry to be Chief, yet there is something else wanting to one who passes his life among Books and thoughts on Books—I long to feast upon old Homer as we have done upon Shakespeare, and as I have lately upon Milton. If you understood Greek, and would read me passages now and then, explaining their meaning, 'twould be, from its mistiness, perhaps a greater luxury than reading the thing one's self. I shall be happy when I can do the same for you."¹

This ambition the young poet never realized, but he did read French, Italian, and Latin, always for the literature rather than for the "foreign idiom." "In the course of a few months," he wrote to his brother in America, in September 1819,

"I shall be as good an Italian Scholar as I am a french [sic] one. I am reading Ariosto at present: not managing more than six or eight stanzas at a time. When I have done this language so as to be able to read it tolerably well—I shall set myself to get complete in latin [sic], and there my learning must stop. I do not think of venturing upon Greek."²

Again and again he spoke of his studies, of his need of books, his desire to be near a library: "I cannot resolve to give up my favorite Studies: so I purpose to retire into the Country and set my Mind at work once more";³ "This day week we shall move to

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Winchester: for I feel the want of a Library . . . I had got in a dream among my Books";⁴ "It is more than a fortnight since I left Shanklin, chiefly for the purpose of being near a tolerable Library";⁵ "I shall live in Westminster—from which a walk to the British Museum will be noisy and muddy—but otherwise pleasant enough."⁶ And to his brother's suggestion that he move to America, he answered, "How could I employ myself? out of the reach of Libraries. . . ." To Haydon, in October 1819, he wrote:

"I feel every day more and more content to read. Books are becoming more interesting and valuable to me. I may say I could not live without them. If in the course of a fortnight you could procure me a ticket to the British Museum, I will make a better use of it than I did in the first instance."⁸

How early Keats began to read Theocritus it is hard to say, or at whose suggestion. Though the 1817 volume and *Endymion* are often pastoral in tone, the actual parallels to definite idyls seem to come later. Leigh Hunt translated nine of the idyls, including VII, which he calls "the Rural Journey," and XV, which he calls "The Syracusan Gossips: or, the Feast of Adonis." Keats met Leigh Hunt in 1816 through Charles Cowden Clarke, and the seventh and fifteenth idyls, and others, were first published in 1818. Presumably Theocritus was discussed in the "little cottage" at Hampstead, along with "fair-hair'd Milton's eloquent distress" for "gentle Lycid drown'd" and "faithful Petrarch gloriously crown'd." Indeed, the dedication of the 1817 volume to Leigh Hunt is a lament that

"Glory and loveliness have pass'd away,"

that "no wreathed incense" is mounting, "no crowd of nymphs" are bringing baskets "to adorn the shrine of Flora," and that "under pleasant trees Pan is no longer sought."

Milton was another of Keats' enthusiasms, both *Paradise Lost* and the minor poems, and it is entirely possible that *Lycidas* led the young poet to the first idyl of Theocritus and then to the others.

In the fragmentary *Ode to Maia*, written on May-day 1818,

"Mother of Hermes! and still youthful Maia!"

Keats asks whether he may woo the goddess "in earlier Sicilian" or, as she once was sought,

"in Grecian isles,

By Bards who died content on pleasant sward,
Leaving great verse unto a little clan. . . ."

Most of the idyls of Theocritus, of course, are laid in Sicily or the island of Cos.

By October 1818 Keats was linking Theocritus with Homer and Milton and Shakespeare as creators of new worlds for his spirit to dwell in. "I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens," he wrote to George in America,

"that I do not live in this world alone but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my Spirit the office which is equivalent to a King's body guard—then 'Tragedy with scepter'd pall, comes sweeping by.' According to my state of mind I am with Achilles shouting in the Trenches, or with Theocritus in the Vales of Sicily. . . ."

The Eve of St. Agnes and *Lamia*, both written in 1819, seem to be indebted to the fifteenth idyl, the little mime wherein the two Syracusan women, Gorgo and Praxinoë, go to the palace to attend the Feast of Adonis. More detailed, sometimes, is Porphyro's midnight feast for the sleeping Madeline than is the similar feast for the sleeping Adonis. To Aphrodite's love are offered

"All fruits . . . that ripe autumn yields,
The produce of the gardens, and the fields;
All herbs and plants which silver baskets hold;
And Syrian unguents flow from shells of gold."¹⁰

Porphyro brought from the closet

"an heap
Of candied apple, quince, and plum, and gourd"

and placed them

"On golden dishes and in baskets bright
Of wreathed silver."

He brought forth, also,

"... lucent syrops, tinct with cinnamon,
Manna and dates, in argosy transferr'd
From Fez; and spiced dainties, every one,
From silken Samarcand to cedar'd Lebanon."

Other dainties are prepared for Adonis:

"With finest meal sweet paste the women
make,
Oil, flowers and honey, mingling in the
cake..."

Besides ebony, gold, and ivory, Adonis had a
"purple tapestry... more soft than sleep."
Of Madeline Keats said,

"And still she slept an azure-lidded sleep
In blanched linen, smooth, and lavender'd."

Possibly even old Angela's challenge to
Porphyro,

"Thou must hold water in a witch's sieve,"

is derived from Theocritus' third idyl, where
the disappointed goat-herd who has serenaded
Amaryllys in vain, says,

"An old witch brought sad tidings to my ears,
She who tells fortunes with the sieve..."

Lamia was written cursorily from July, or
earlier, until September 1819. After writing
the first act of *Otho the Great*, the poet broke
off and wrote the first part of *Lamia*, he told
John Hamilton Reynolds on July 12.¹¹ A few
days later he wrote to Fanny Brawne that
he had "three or four stories half done."¹²
On September 5 he told his publisher, John
Taylor: "Since I have finished it [the play] I
have finish'd *Lamia*: and am now occupied
in revising *St. Agnes' Eve* and studying
Italian."¹³ As the *Eve of St. Agnes* had been
finished before February 14,¹⁴ perhaps Keats
added, at this time, the richness of detail
similar to the descriptions of the exotic snake-
woman and her splendid bridal feast in
Lamia.

The dangerously beautiful *Lamia*, so like
Geraldine in Coleridge's *Christabel*, caused
her suitor to swoon by threatening to leave
him. Reviving him with a kiss, she began to
whisper the story of her love, how she first
saw him.

"Where 'gainst a column he lent thoughtfully
At Venus' temple porch, 'mid baskets heap'd
Of amorous herbs and flowers, newly reap'd
Late on that eve, as 'twas the night before
The Adonian feast."

Here the Feast of Adonis is definitely men-
tioned, and apparently also derived from the
description of the feast cited above are the
elaborate preparations for the bridal supper.

The last lines of the poem show the dead
Lycius:

"On the high couch he lay!—his friends came
round!
Supported him—no pulse or breath they found,
And in its marriage robe the heavy body
wound."

This picture is strongly reminiscent of the
beautiful Adonis lying on his silver couch
when the two Syracusan women first came to
the palace.

Gorgo and Praxinoë had been chattering so
incessantly that a stranger told them to "for-
bear," for he was bored with their endless
"Sicilian prate." Keats apparently liked the
broad vowels of the Doric dialect better than
the stranger, for he wrote:

"Soft went the music the soft air along,
While fluent Greek a vowel'd undersong
Kept up among the guests."

To *Lamia*, also, the seventh idyl contrib-
uted a few bits—the idyl where the synthe-
tic goat-herd Lycidas joins the group of
young men, competes in song with Simichidas,
and then departs, while the others go on to
the harvest feast. At the end of the idyl the
harvest feast was celebrated before the altar
of Demeter, or Ceres, and

"Wine flow'd abundant from capacious tuns,
Matured divinely by four summers suns,"

whereas in *Lamia* huge tables held the wealth

"Of cups and goblets, and the store thrice told
Of Ceres' horn, and, in huge vessels, wine
Come from the gloomy tun with merry shine."

The eleventh idyl, where the Cyclops
Polyphemus implores the sea-nymph Galatea
to leave her home in the grey sea and dwell
with him in the cavern near which laurels

and cypresses grow, may have suggested Lamia's reply to her earthly lover:

"What canst thou say or do of charm enough
To dull the nice remembrance of my home?
Thou canst not ask me with thee here to roam
Over these hills and vales, where no joy is.—
Empty of immortality and bliss!

.....[knowing]
That finer spirits cannot breathe below
In human climes, and live"

Keats was very hopeful of *Lamia*. From Winchester, where he finished the tale, he wrote to George about the 18th of September: "My hopes are [ever] paramount to my despair. I have been reading over a part of a short poem I have composed lately call'd '*Lamia*'—and I am certain there is that sort of fire in it which must take hold of people in some way."¹⁵

SIX MONTHS EARLIER, ON March 19, he wrote to his brother of his indolent and careless mood—a mood which he would have called languor if he had had "teeth of pearl and the breath of lillies [sic]." His brain was as relaxed as the rest of his body, he said, and he felt pleasure as little as pain: "Neither Poetry, nor Ambition, nor Love have any alertness of countenance as they pass by me: they seem rather like three figures on a greek [sic] vase—a man and two women whom no one but myself could distinguish in their disguise. . . ."¹⁶ The connection between this mood and the *Ode on Indolence* is obvious; that with the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* less apparent.

A month later, the poet added to his letter to George: "I am still at a stand in versifying—I cannot do it yet with any pleasure";¹⁷ and in June he wrote to Miss Jeffrey:

"I have been very idle lately, very averse to writing; both from the overpowering idea of our dead poets and from abatement of my love of fame. . . . You will judge of my 1819 temper when I tell you that the thing I have most enjoyed this year has been writing an ode to *Indolence*."¹⁸

The first idyl of Theocritus, from which Milton borrowed so much for *Lycidas*, is in two parts: the "Song of Thyrsis," and the

poetic setting of that song, where the goat-herd persuades Thyrsis to sing by offering him a beautifully carved bowl of ivy-wood, fresh from the knife of the carver—and later gives him the fragrant vessel. Milton used the song, and Keats seems to have used the description of the bowl.

Like the Grecian Urn the wooden bowl has three distinct scenes. The first is of two youths contending for the favors of a maiden, who flirts gaily with both of them. The eyes of the young men are swollen with grief, "their heavy hearts despair." The *Ode on Indolence* reverses this scene: two maidens and one young man, Ambition,

"pale of cheek
And ever watchful with fatigued eye."

The scenes on the Grecian Urn are different, but Keats echoes the fruitlessness of the effort of the two young men on the wooden bowl:

"Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
Though winning near the goal. . . ."

Theocritus describes the intricate carving above the scenes,

"A deep two-handled cup, whose brim is
crown'd
With ivy join'd with helichryse around;
Small tendrils with close-clasping arms uphold
The fruit rich speckled with the seeds of gold,"

and, just before the song,

"All round the soft acanthus spreads its train."

Keats asks, more briefly:

"What leaf-fring'd legend haunts about thy
shape?"

Many of the short poems and *Endymion* seem to have a little tinkle now and then from the far-off vales of Sicily. The sonnet *To the Ladies Who Saw Me Crown'd*, for instance, mentions

"rippings tenderly
Spread by the halcyon's breast upon the sea,"

and one is reminded of the "song of Lycidas" in the seventh idyl:

"May halcyons smooth the waves, and calm the seas,
And the rough south-east sink into a breeze."

Another use of the same image occurs in the first book of *Endymion*:

"O magic sleep! O comfortable bird,
That broodest o'er the troubled sea of the mind
Till it is hush'd & smooth!"

In the eleventh idyl Theocritus tells the physician Nicias that there is no remedy for love except song, illustrating his theme by the song of the Cyclops to milk-white Galatea. In the latter part of the song the Cyclops tells his love,

"Well might that fire to warm my breast suffice,
That kindled at the lightning of your eyes."

And Keats starts an *Ode to Fanny*:

"Physician Nature! let my spirit blood!
O ease my heart of verse and let me rest;
Throw me upon thy Tripod, till the flood
Of stifling numbers ebbs from my full breast."

But closest of all to Theocritus is the lovely ode *To Autumn*, written at Winchester near the end of September 1819 and sent to Richard Woodhouse on the 21st.¹⁹ "How beautiful the season is now," Keats wrote to Reynolds on the same day.

"How fine the air. A temperate sharpness about it. Really, without joking, chaste weather—Dian skies—I never lik'd stubble-fields so much as now—Aye better than the chilly green of the Spring. Somehow a stubble-plain looks warm—in the same way that some pictures look warm. This struck me so much in my Sunday's walk that I composed upon it."²⁰

The conclusion of the seventh idyl of Theocritus describes the harvest-festival in honor of Demeter at the farm of Phrasidemus. Like Keats, the earlier poet emphasizes the fecundity of the earth; like Keats, he personifies the season as a woman with sheaves of wheat and poppies. Both poets refer to the reaping and the winnowing; both mention the songs of birds and insects. Theocritus says:

"The rich, ripe season gratified the sense
With summer's sweets, and autumn's redolence
Apples and pears lay strew'd in heaps around,
And the plum's loaded branches kiss'd the ground."

The first stanza of the ode has many of the same images, and even where the details are different the flavor is the same:

"Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,
Close bosom-friend of the maturing sun:
Conspiring with him how to load and bless
With fruit the vines that round the thatch-
eaves run;
To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,
And fill all fruit with ripeness to the core. . . ."

The mythical figure of Autumn in Keats' second stanza can be no other than Demeter of the *threshing-floor*, on whose corn-heap [σωπῶ] Theocritus wishes to plant the great winnowing fan [μέγα πτερόν]:

"O may I prove once more that happy man
In her large heaps to fix the purging fan!
And may the goddess smile serene and bland
While ears of corn and poppies grace her hand."

"Who hath not seen thee oft amid thy store?" asks the English poet.

"Sometimes whoever seeks abroad, may find
Thee sitting careless on a granary floor,
Thy hair soft-lifted by the winnowing wind;
Or on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
Drows'd with the fume of poppies, while thy
hook
Spare the next swath and all its twined
flowers."

Keats uses different insects and birds in his last stanza from those at the beginning of the Theocritean description. Instead of "honey-bees" humming "round the flowers" and "shrill grasshoppers" renewing "their plaintive song," he has "the small gnats" mourning "in a wailful choir . . . among the river swallows." Instead of "Sweet Philomela," the lark, the goldfinch, and the turtle dove, he has "hedge-crickets," the "red-breast," and "gathering swallows"; and both poets fill the description with onomatopoeic verbs.

The birds and insects in the Greek poem are differently translated by Leigh Hunt:

"The hiding grasshoppers, in spite of heat,
Kept up their chattering coil; the nightingale
Plained at a distance in the thorny bush;
The larks and linnets sung; the stock-dove
mourned."

And it was shortly after meeting Leigh Hunt that Keats wrote his sonnet *On the Grasshopper and Cricket*, December 30, 1816, in competition with his older friend and in Leigh Hunt's cottage in Hampstead.

"The poetry of earth is never dead,"

Keats began, and then, paraphrasing his friend's translation:

"When all the birds are faint with the hot sun,
And hide in cooling trees, a voice will run
From hedge to hedge about the new-mown
mead;
That is the Grasshopper's—"

Even the "new-mown mead" may come from "vine-leaves freshly cut" and "cooling trees" from

"Above our heads a throng of elms and poplars
Kept stirring. . ."

There is nothing inappropriate in Keats' use of the idyls of Theocritus, any more than in Shakespeare's breathing life into the bare statements of Holingshead or Chaucer's retelling in his inimitable way a tale of Boccaccio's. Keats apparently found in these lovely pastorals

"a draught of vintage that hath been
Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green . . ."

and he drank freely at the well-spring. Again and again he acknowledges his debt to his predecessors:

"How many bards gild the lapses of time!
A few of them have ever been the food

Of my delighted fancy

And often, when I sit me down to rhyme,
These will in throngs before my mind in-
trude. . . ."

And when the young poet "travell'd in the realms of gold," who is to say that Sicily was not one of the

"western islands . . .

Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold?"

NOTES

¹ John Keats, *Letters*, edited by Maurice Buxton Forman, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931, I, 148-149.

² *Ibid.*, II, 464-465.

³ *Ibid.*, 376, to Miss Keats. [Postmark, 9 June 1819.]

⁴ *Ibid.*, 398-399, to Miss Brawne. [Aug. 5-6, 1819.]

⁵ *Ibid.*, 407, to Miss Keats. [Aug. 28, 1819.]

⁶ *Ibid.*, 425, to Richard Woodhouse. [Sept. 21, 1819.]

⁷ *Ibid.*, 463. [Sept. 21, 1819.]

⁸ *Ibid.*, 474.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 261-262. The italics here and elsewhere are mine.

¹⁰ After examining the translations of Leigh Hunt, M. J. Chapman (recommended by Leigh Hunt), the Rev. Richard Polwhele, and Francis Fawkes, all made early enough to be known by Keats, I have chosen Fawkes's rendering as apparently closest to the phrases used by Keats. This translation was made as early as 1767 and incorporated in volume xx of Chalmers' *English Poets*, published in 1810 and easily accessible to Keats. Both Fawkes and Chapman mistranslate "*καλά τέρμενα*" ["fair vales" or "beautiful dells"] as "Tempe," which error may have furnished the "Tempe" of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*. In most instances, Keats seems closer to the Greek of Theocritus than to any of these translations; perhaps the imagination of the poet re-kindled what had been frozen by the translators.

¹¹ Keats, *Letters*, II, 388.

¹² *Ibid.*, 390.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 414.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 322, to George Keats.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 438-439.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 339-340.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 345.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 375-376.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 421-422.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 418.

In our April issue—

"THE QUINTESSENCE OF COMEDY"

By Abraham Feldman

The first of a series of three articles
on the great Cambridge philologists—
Bentley, Porson, and Housman

Even Classicists Are Odd

Solomon Katz

WHEN THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION of the Pacific States so graciously invited me to speak at their annual banquet, I thought that I should be churlish indeed were I to recall A. E. Housman's comment:¹

"University College, London, like many other colleges, is the abode of a Minotaur. This monster does not devour youths and maidens: it consists of them, and it preys for choice on the Professors within its reach. It is called a Literary Society, and in hopes of deserving the name it exacts a periodical tribute from those whom it supposes to be literate. Studious men who might be settling *Hoti's* business and properly basing *Oun* are expected to provide amusing discourses on subjects of which they have no official knowledge and upon which they may not be entitled even to open their mouths."

Although I am aware that I have "no official knowledge," I shall essay the difficult role of biographer. I shall appear not as a Plutarch recounting the reforms of the brothers Gracchi, nor yet the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, but rather as a minor Suetonius. The Latinists will recall that

(This is substantially the text of a paper presented at the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States at the University of Oregon in Eugene, December 29, 1941. Several intervening years of military service made it impossible for the author to present it for publication until now. The celebration on June 3, 1947 of the fourth centenary of Trinity College, Cambridge, makes it perhaps not inappropriate to remind ourselves of the achievement of three of the great Classicists who added lustre to that ancient college.

Professor Katz is a native of Buffalo, N. Y., and a graduate of Cornell University (A.B., Ph.D.). In 1932-33 he was a student at the Sorbonne in Paris; and is now a member of the Department of History of the University of Washington, Seattle.

Suetonius wrote a work entitled *De Viris Illustribus* in which he depicted the foibles as well as the virtues of eminent Latin poets, orators, historians, philosophers, grammarians and rhetoricians. I too shall present some biographical sketches of illustrious men, three famous classical scholars from Cambridge University. I hope that it will not be regarded as an impertinence if, like Suetonius, I say a word or two about the apparent eccentricities of illustrious men. For my Classicists were not mere scholars cast in the conventional mold, but men possessed of unusual qualities of personality and scholarship. There are those who may admire the learning of these scholars, but be repelled by their personalities. I ask them to consider what a nineteenth-century divine said in dedicating his biography of one of my Classicists to the Lord Bishop of London:² "If, in the perusal of the following memoirs, any reader should remark, that great learning is not always accompanied by the graces of personal character, the mention of your Lordship's name will remind him that the defect cannot be attributed to the nature of such studies, and that similar excellence in classical pursuits should be made subservient to religious knowledge and the cultivation of all moral and Christian virtues."

My gallery includes three classical scholars, each of whom was in his time a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge: Dr. Richard Bentley, the contentious Master of Trinity College, Professor Richard Porson, the tippling philologist, and Professor A. E. Housman, poet and polemist. They are, in my opinion, the most eminent representatives of a distinguished tradition of classical scholarship, extending from the end of the seven-

teenth century to our own times. Of each of them might it be said that he was "splendide emendax," for each performed notable work in conjectural emendation, and all three attracted the attention of the learned world by their exacting and original scholarship and the attention of the curious by their vigorous and sometimes extraordinary conduct.

Richard Bentley was born in 1662 and died in 1742. Among the outstanding classical scholars of the first half of the eighteenth century he was the greatest, towering over the others as his Digamma over the alphabet. He set a new example of sustained and methodical criticism which was designed to reconstruct and recover the true texts, and thus he helped to establish the course of classical scholarship. For more than a century the scholars of England and the continent worked on the lines indicated by Bentley, and even today we are in more than one branch of classical learning only doing what Bentley indicated as the thing that had to be done.³ Not only did he revivify by his tremendous energy and industry the whole domain of classical scholarship, but for forty stirring years he was the most prominent figure of a great English university.

Bentley was no mere closet-scholar, no Mr. Dry-as-Dust. Everything he did or said or wrote bore the vivid impress of his vigorous personality. Housman, whose judgments were rarely conventionally polite, called Bentley "the greatest scholar that England or perhaps that Europe ever bred; a man so great that in his own province he serves for a touchstone of merit and has always been admired by all admirable scholars and despised by all despicable scholars."⁴

Let us, however, examine another judgment of Bentley by Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, assuredly "no despicable scholar." "When I see the baneful influence which a great philologist, like a great philosopher, may have on whole generations of his followers—for how many wasted lives he may be responsible, what a false tendency he has given to the human mind, how inconsistent he is with himself, what silly and unmeaning commendation he has re-

ceived from those who are incapable of appreciating him: I am tempted to make the still small voice of reason heard against him."⁵ To a mild-mannered person like Jowett, who hated eccentricity of any kind, Bentley's character would not appeal. The over-bearing, sarcastic, tyrannical Bentley repels some as he attracts others by his scholarship, and balanced judgments are rendered difficult.

This is not the place to give many of the biographical details concerning Bentley, for they can be read conveniently elsewhere.⁶ Bentley's first published work, which was written when he was not quite twenty-nine years old, was one of the most brilliant productions of this remarkable scholar, of whom his old employer, the Bishop Stillingfleet, remarked: "Had he but the gift of humility, he would be the most extraordinary man in Europe."⁷ The *Epistola ad Millium* was published by Bentley in 1691 in the form of a long letter included as an appendix in Dr. John Mill's edition of the Byzantine chronicler, John Malelas or Malalas of Antioch. In fewer than 100 pages Bentley corrected and explained more than 60 Greek and Latin authors, and the *Epistola* alone was sufficient to place him at the head of all living English classical scholars. This magnificently brilliant work won for the author the encomia of the leading scholars on the continent. Graevius spoke of Bentley as "novum sed splendidissimum Britanniae lumen" and Spanheim referred to him as "novum idemque iam lucidum litteratae Britanniae sidus."⁸ These first fruits of Bentley's already ripe scholarship bear the stamp of that vigorous polemical style which marked all his criticism. For it is not so much the sober and judicious, even ponderous, style of the writer of learned monographs as that of a debater arguing in lively and frequently sarcastic style with an opponent. This colloquial manner exposed Bentley to an undeserved rebuke from his biographer, Monk. After triumphantly showing that John Malelas had made a blunder, Bentley exclaims: "Good indeed, Johnny!" (Euge vero, ὦ Ἰωαννίδιον). Monk thought that this was said to Dr. John Mill, and reproved it as "an indecorum which neither the familiarity of

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friendship nor the licence of a dead language can justify towards the dignified Head of a House."⁹

It was at this time that letters began to be exchanged between Bentley and Joshua Barnes, a tragicomic philologist of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Barnes affected to disdain Bentley's scholarship. A few years later Barnes invested his wife's fortune in a costly Homer which he edited. He obtained his wife's reluctant consent for this enterprise by persuading her that the real author of the Homeric poems was King Solomon. Queen Anne refused to have the work dedicated to her and the unfortunate Dr. Barnes believed that this was Bentley's doing. Bentley used to say of Barnes that he probably knew about as much Greek, and understood it about as well, as an Athenian blacksmith.¹⁰

The erudite will recall Bentley's greatest book, the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* (1697; revised and greatly augmented edition, 1699), which fixed his reputation as the leading critic of the age. The controversy between Bentley and his opponent Boyle was not allayed by this publication, but rather exacerbated, and the indefatigable but hardly profound Pepys was encouraged to write: "I suspect Mr. Boyle is in the right; for our friend's learning (which I have great value for) wants a little filing, and I doubt not but a few such strokes as this will do it and him good," and Swift was pleased to attack Bentley in his *Tale of a Tub* and in his *Battle of the Books*. But scholars at home and abroad judged Bentley's dissertation more accurately as inaugurating a new epoch in criticism. By his profound scholarship, as by his mordant wit, Bentley crushed his adversary, Boyle. Years later Tyrwhitt described the opponents of Bentley as "laid low, as by a thunderbolt," and Porson pronounced it "an immortal dissertation."¹¹

I leave it to you to read for yourselves the accounts of Bentley's editions of classical authors. His great edition of Horace in which the traditional text is altered in more than 700 passages appeared in 1711. In this edition we find his celebrated and characteristically arrogant dictum: "Nobis et ratio et res ipsa

centum codicibus potiores sunt."¹² Yet it must be remembered that Bentley himself did not scorn the manuscripts, but on the contrary constantly referred to them and to the earliest printed texts. His *Horace* has been sharply criticized,¹³ but the merits of that edition are many and great, as Laistner has recently demonstrated.¹⁴ Bentley possessed that wide learning and knowledge of classical antiquity which he regarded as a prime necessity, and to his task he brought that "divinandi quaedam peritia et *μαντική*," which as he himself said in the preface to his *Horace* could not be acquired by labor or longevity, but was the gift of nature. In truth his critical acumen was hardly to be distinguished from inspiration. Thus he arrived at his results by a happy combination of vast reading, minute and painstaking scholarship, and a gift for conjecture which few have ever possessed.

In 1726 Bentley's brilliance in emendation was again demonstrated by his edition of Terence in which the text was corrected in about 1000 passages, chiefly on metrical grounds. Thirteen years later Bentley published his edition of Manilius to which A. E. Housman, whose own *Manilius* is now itself a classic, pays this tribute:¹⁵

"*Lucida tela diei*: these are the words that come into one's mind when one has halted at some stubborn perplexity of reading or interpretation, has witnessed Scaliger and Gronovius and Huetius fumble at it one after another, and then turns to Bentley and sees Bentley strike his finger on the place and say *thou ailest here, and here . . .* The firm strength and piercing edge and arrowy swiftness of his intellect, his matchless facility and adroitness and resources, were never so triumphant as where defeat seemed sure; and yet it is other virtues that one admires and welcomes as one turns from the smoky fire of Scaliger's genius to the sky and air of Bentley's: his lucidity, his sanity, his just and simple and straight-forward fashion of thought."

Shall I show the reverse of the medal by mentioning Bentley's strange edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1732)? Bentley persuaded himself that the blind Milton was the victim of an unscrupulous editor and a careless scribe who had introduced much that the

poet never wrote and changed for the worse much that he did write. Accordingly, whenever Milton's poetry failed to satisfy Bentley's notion of what he should have written, he detected a "monster of the printer's production," or the hand of the wicked and blundering editor. Bentley therefore introduced over 800 emendations, correcting the "printer's faults" "by sagacity and happy conjecture" and showing that the "editor's interpolations" can be detected "by their own silliness and unfitness."¹⁶

A few examples of Bentley's tasteless and arbitrary emendations of Milton's poem may be given. Milton relates how "four speedy Cherubim" were sent out with trumpets to summon an assembly. "Four *speedy* cherubim," says Bentley. "Not much need of swiftness to be a good trumpeteer. For *speedy* I suspect the poet gave it, 'Four *sturdy* cherubim.' Sturdy, stout, robust, able to blow a strong blast."¹⁷ "Thither came Uriel, gliding through the *even*" is emended to "Thither came Uriel, gliding through the *heav'n*," because, as Bentley observes, evening is a division of time, not of space, and one cannot come gliding through evening; one might as well say "came gliding through six o'clock."¹⁸ When Eve says, "With thee conversing I forget all time;/All seasons and their change, all please alike," Bentley protests: "Our great grandmother Eve, though endow'd with all perfections of mind and body, that human nature could reach to, even before the Fall; yet in her life of one week could have no notion of seasons. What she had seen, was *perpetuum ver*; all modern fine seasons, spring, summer, autumn, united together? 'Tis enough for her to say,

'I forget all time,
All courses and their change.'¹⁹

Many of Bentley's other emendations of *Paradise Lost* are as bad or worse, and as his otherwise warm admirer, Housman, remarked of Bentley's *Manilius*, he "treats the manuscripts much as if they were fellows of Trinity."²⁰ It was these infelicitous corrections and Bentley's restoration of the digamma to Homer which prompted Pope to write these lines in the *Dunciad*.²¹

Thy mighty Scholiast, whose unweary'd pains
Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains.
Turn what they will to Verse, their toil is vain,
Critics like me shall make it Prose again.

Roman and Greek Grammarians! know your Better:

Author of something yet more great than Letter;
While tow'ring o'er your Alphabet, like Saul,
Stands our Digamma, and o'er-tops them all.

Let us turn to Dr. Bentley's career as Master of Trinity College where his arrogant temper quickly involved him in contention with the Fellows. In his efforts to reform the College, the pugnacious Master rode roughshod over the Fellows, and they were unwilling to yield. To the college bursar who protested against extravagant expenditures on the repairs of the Master's lodge, Bentley said that he would "send him into the country to feed his turkeys." The other Fellows were treated in as cavalier a fashion. They bore it as long as they could and finally, after eight years, a petition of 54 counts was brought to the Bishop of Ely against the Master. I shall quote one or two of the counts filed against Bentley:²²

"Why have you for many years last past, wasted the college bread, ale, beer, coal, wood, turf, sedge, charcoal, linnen, pewter, corn, flower, brawn, and bran?

"When by false and base practises, as by threatening to bring letters from court, visitations, and the like, and at other times, by boasting of your great interest and acquaintance, and that you were the genius of the age, and what great things you would do for the College in general, and for every member in particular . . . , why did you merely for your own vanity, require them to build a new staircase in your lodge? And when they . . . [refused], why did you of your own head pull down a good staircase in your lodge, and give orders and directions for building a new one?

"Why did you use scurrilous words and language to several of the fellows, particularly by calling Mr. Eden an ass, and Mr. Rashly the college dog, and by telling Mr. Cock he would die in his shoes?"

The Master's gift for vituperation was widely known. The famous classical scholar Jakob Gronovius of Leyden had once been

lashed by Bentley and termed "homunculus eruditione mediocri, ingenio nullo." Now the quarrel with the Fellows was aggravated by a feud, scholarly in origin, between Bentley and Dr. Colbatch, Professor of Casuistry at Cambridge and a Senior Fellow of Trinity. Bentley described Colbatch as "a casuistic drudge," "a plodding pupil of Escobar," "an insect, worm, maggot, vermin, gnawing rat, snarling dog, ignorant thief, mountebank, and cabbage head" whose intellect was as dark as his countenance; his eyes, muscles, and shoulders were wrought up into the most solemn posture of gravity; he grinned horribly; he was probably mad, and his brother's beard was ludicrously long.²³ Colbatch naturally brought an action for libel against Bentley and with the other Fellows of Trinity College fought the Master. Bentley had to face lawsuit after lawsuit; he was deprived of his degrees in 1734, but through a technicality he kept his post as Master of Trinity.

The contest, which has been styled the Thirty Years' War, began in 1710 and ended in 1738. Thus it lasted, as Jebb wittily remarked, a year longer than the Peloponnesian War. Bentley's intellectual despotism had unfortunately been carried over into his official and social relationships, and his rivals at the College he tried to treat as he would corrupt readings in a text of Horace.

It was this same intellectual arrogance which, according to a probably apocryphal tale, almost caused Bentley's engagement to the "object of his affections," to use Monk's delightfully old-fashioned phrase, to be broken off. Bentley had expressed some doubt about the authenticity of the account in the Book of Daniel of the height of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image—a doubt "which made the good lady weep." I am happy to report that the lover's quarrel was resolved, and the good lady became Mrs. Bentley. Of her it is said that she used to send her snuff box rather than a written order to the College buttery when she desired beer. Was the beer for her own consumption? We cannot say. We know only that Dr. Bentley preferred port to claret, which, he said, would be port if it could. And these references to spirituous beverages bring

us inevitably to their foreordained abode, Mr. Professor Porson.

(The second of Professor Katz's articles, on Richard Porson, will appear in our April issue—Ed.)

NOTES

¹ A. E. Housman, Preface to Arthur Platt, *Nine Essays*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1927, p. v. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

² J. H. Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley*, 2 vols., 2d. ed., London, 1833, Dedication.

³ For a brief appreciation see M. L. W. Laistner, "Richard Bentley: 1742-1942," *Studies in Philology*, 39 (1942), 510-523; cf. I. Bywater, *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England*, Oxford, 1919, p. 14.

⁴ A. E. Housman, *Introductory Lecture . . . University College, London . . . 1892*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1937, p. 19. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

⁵ E. Abbott and L. Campbell, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, London, 1897, II, 186.

⁶ Monk, *op. cit.*; R. C. Jebb, *Bentley*, London, 1882. The standard bibliography is A. T. Bartholemew and J. W. Clark, *Richard Bentley, D.D.: A bibliography of his works and of all the literature called forth by his acts or his writings*, Cambridge, 1908.

⁷ Monk, *op. cit.*, I, 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 31.

⁹ Monk's error appeared in the first edition of his work, London, 1830, was pointed out in a review by Thomas De Quincey, "Richard Bentley," [1830], reprinted in *Essays on Philosophical Writers and Other Men of Letters*, Boston, 1865, pp. 14-16, and was absent from Monk's second edition.

¹⁰ Monk, *op. cit.*, I, 291, n. 11; cf. Jebb, *Bentley*, p. 36.

¹¹ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1908, II, 405.

¹² Bentley, ed. Horace, *Carm.*, 3, 27. 15 and Praef.

¹³ See, for example, B. L. Ullman, "Horace and the Philologists," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 31 (1935-36) 407-409, and H. R. Joliffe, *The Critical Methods and Influence of Bentley's Horace*, University of Chicago dissertation: Chicago, 1939.

¹⁴ Laistner, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-523.

¹⁵ A. E. Housman, *Manilius*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1937, I, xvi-xvii. This and other passages from *Manilius* are reprinted by permission of the publishers.

¹⁶ R. Bentley, *Milton's Paradise Lost*, London, 1732, Preface.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55, note to II, 516.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 126, note to IV, 555.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130, note to IV, 640.

²⁰ A. E. Housman, *Manilius*, I, xviii; see also Housman, *Introductory Lecture*, pp. 20-21.

²¹ Pope, *Dunciad*, IV, 211-218.

²² Jebb, *Bentley*, pp. 105-106.

²³ Monk, *Bentley*, I, 134-136.

We See By the Papers

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

IN THE JANUARY issue this department referred to two comments in a British publication (*HORIZON*) suggesting interpretations of the character of Americans in terms of ancient peoples. The Carthaginians were seen as "the Americans of antiquity"; and at the same time, with respect to a declining European civilization, America was seen to be assuming the role that Rome played in the long decline of Greece.

From an ex-Foreign Minister of Colombia, Carlos Lozano y Lozano, comes an expression confirming the latter view. After visiting universities in the United States he gave an interview to the Colombian paper *SÁBADO*, which was reviewed by *TIME* for December 29, 1947. "The Americans are the Romans of today," he declared, and he pictured American emphasis on material and technical accomplishments, wealth, glamour, and sports as concealing "a soul essentially young and simple." He considered that our culture, retarded during our expansion westward, was at last showing some signs of growth, though far short of intellectual maturity.

THE CHRISTMAS issue of *LIFE*, December 22, presented a brief but lavishly illustrated account of the excavation of a limestone tomb discovered in September 1945 at Talpiyoth, a suburb of Jerusalem on the road to Bethlehem. One of the rectangular stone ossuaries found in the tomb has crosses drawn in charcoal on its sides. The inscriptions on the ossuaries include two in Greek which contain the name Jesus: 'Ιησοῦς τοῦ and 'Ιησοῦς ἀλωθ. One in Hebrew is reconstructed to read "Simeon Barsaba." The excavator, Professor E. L. Sukenik of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, dated the tomb on the basis of first-century pottery and a

coin of 42 A.D., and interpreted the finds as possibly contemporary testimony of earliest Christianity.

"THE GRANDEUR that Was Rome—in Africa" is the title of an article in *HARPER's* for January. John Douglas Pringle, assistant editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, gives an engaging description of Greek and Roman physical remains, especially at Cyrene and Leptis Magna, with some speculation regarding the significance of a civilization which flourished for centuries, then was covered over with sand.

A resume of this article appearing in the *New York Times* January 11, for which we are indebted to Professor Harry L. Levy of Hunter College, adds the incidental information that the British general who wrested North Africa from the Germans and Italians during the recent war was saluted at Oxford as "Bernardus Montgomery Africanus."

THE LATE JUSTICE Oliver Wendell Holmes had a personal great books list, on which he expected to be quizzed by St. Peter on Judgment Day, based on recommendations made by his friend, the late Professor Morris R. Cohen of City College, New York. He read the first volume of Spengler's *Decline of the West*, then went on to Thucydides. He wrote to Professor Cohen: "After Spengler I read Thucydides, the most important books . . . in Greek, the rest mainly in translation. It was my last Day of Judgment Book, and I can die more easily." The correspondence of twenty years between the judge and the philosopher, published at City College in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, was described in an article in the *New York Herald Tribune* for January 8 clipped for *CJ* by Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

"IDES OF DECEMBER" is the first head for the column "Topics of the Times" in the *New York Times* December 14, just a day late by *CJ's* Roman calendar. An account of the jolly customs of the Roman Saturnalia rambles on to the supposed influence of the pagan festival on Christian carnival and Christmas, with due references to Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and Ovid's *Fasti*.

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 357

In spite of Cicero's political and social bias
his program of education remains a worthy ideal

Cicero's Ideal Orator— Truth and Propaganda

Paul MacKendrick

THOUGH CICERO's *propagandistic work On the Orator* is, whether by accident or by design, a reactionary document, it contains an ideal of the general and special education of the expert which is full of meaning for our time. Ancient rhetoric or propaganda, democratic in origin, became the device by which the privileged class justified and defended its privilege. The analysis of the devices and attitudes of ancient propagandists can hardly fail to be fruitful in an age when democracy is suffering attacks both from the right and from the left upon its freedoms.

WHEN, IN SEPTEMBER of the third year of the era of the atomic bomb, a million veterans descended upon American college campuses to continue the greatest experiment in mass higher education in the history of the world, they found in operation there courses in general education of prime importance to them, as to all students and all teachers, and not least the teacher and the student of the Greek and Latin Classics. For these courses, in their laudable intent to provide for the student a common core of experience of the ideas and the institutions, rooted in the past and looking to the future, which make up this world we have at last

discovered to be One, direct the student's attention to the great books of Greece and Rome, to Thucydides and Plato, Cicero and Tacitus. These authors, who were the inspiration of the church fathers, the models of the Renaissance humanists, the ornaments of Augustan London, the avocation of the nineteenth century leisure class, are now to be presented to the most hard-headed, efficient, and pragmatic group of young men and women ever to sit in a lecture hall. These students have not the humility of early Christians. They lost their reverence for authority in the war. They are interested in function, not ornament. And they know they are not members of a leisure class. What have the Classics to offer them? The answer to this question is desperately urgent; various teachers will give it in various ways. I base my answer upon a study of ancient rhetoric, or propaganda, considered as basic to the understanding of Greek and Latin literature as it interprets Greek and Roman society.

I shall hope, to begin with, to persuade the student, with all possible tact, that "nescire . . . quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum." With that as a basis, I think I can show him, using Cicero *de Oratore* as my principal text, some of the hard

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nuts he is going to have to crack in this one world of which he is preparing himself to be a citizen. His teachers, the newspapers, the radio tell him that it is a world where capital is set against labor, conservative against liberal, vested interest against common man, "have" against "have-not." Perhaps Cicero can teach him something about the political use of moral terms. In the midst of the tumult and the shouting of modern publicity methods, propaganda is hard to analyze. But the future of his world depends upon his intelligent analysis: let him practice on Cicero. He will be faced, as all his predecessors in lecture rooms and laboratories have been faced, with the conflicting claims of theory and practice. Can he maintain a standard of values and still keep his feet on the ground? Let him discuss the problem with Crassus and Antonius. He is being trained to be an expert. What should his attitude be toward other experts? Toward his teachers? Toward that unfortunate group, apparently ever on the increase, to whom it is now the fashion to refer as "laymen"? Cicero's interlocutors present him with certain not necessarily salutary examples. Finally, when he has fought the good fight and finished the course, how is he to keep the faith? That is, what ideal of action and achievement will he set for himself in his profession? Cicero's *de Oratore*, read with a recreating historical imagination, will set him thinking.

Propaganda in Greece

IF OUR STUDENT thinks that rhetoric went out with McGuffey's reader, let him deceive himself as he considers a definition from Aristotle:² "Rhetoric—or propaganda—is the faculty of discerning . . . in any question presented to it, that which is adapted to produce persuasion or the possible means of persuasion." Can anyone living in the age of the radio commercial, the magazine advertisement, the campaign oration, or "seminars in persuasion" in university "speech" departments believe that rhetoric is a dead issue? It has never been a dead issue since its beginning, and we must not lose our power to analyze rhetoric or propaganda in an age when its

correct appraisal is quite simply and literally a matter of life and death.

What were its beginnings? There is some encouragement in the thought that they were democratic. In 466 B.C., when the veterans of Marathon were in their forties and Pericles a young man of 24, a democracy was set up in Syracuse, in Sicily. Exiles, dispossessed by tyrants, returned to find their property in the possession of the tyrants' partisans. Out of their need to justify their claims the art of rhetoric was born. The art grew to maturity in Sicily while the Periclean age of enlightenment was at its height in Athens; it was introduced to the eager young men of Athens, then, as always, ever ready to hear or to tell some new thing, by one Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, in 427 B.C., the year that Plato was born. Plato's *Gorgias* discusses the nature of propaganda, and brings out that it is an art of flattery, directed to pleasure rather than to making men good. This essentially amoral nature of propaganda is important to keep in mind, whether in an ancient or in a modern context. Is the distinction between propaganda and ethics merely a matter of practice versus theory, or does it go deeper, to the essentials of democratic freedom?

To the most successful of Gorgias' pupils, Isocrates, there was no admissible conflict. In his school were trained orators, historians and princes; Cicero calls him the Master of all rhetoricians or propagandists, "cuius e ludo, tanquam ex equo Troiano, meri principes exierunt."³ This reference to the Trojan horse is apt, for, in Cicero's time as in ours, the Trojan horse connoted treachery, and Isocrates' teachings, if not treacherous, were at least at variance with the democratic beginnings of the art, and with the democratic practice of Athens' most eloquent democrat, and Isocrates' pupil, Demosthenes. For Isocrates held that the basis of the right to rule is birth; that the people have a vested interest in the prosperity of the aristocracy; and that they can be best governed by a sort of House of Lords, a patriarchy of the landed aristocracy called the Areopagus.⁴ It is one of the ironies of literature that one of the great manifestoes of human freedom, Milton's

Areopagitica, should be named after what is essentially a reactionary document.

The detailed study of the art of propaganda to which all subsequent handbooks, from Cicero to the Trivium of the Middle Ages and beyond are indebted, begins with Aristotle. Besides being the teacher of all succeeding ages, Aristotle was the tutor of Alexander the Great. The army, the administrators, and the successors of Alexander Hellenized the whole Eastern world; with Hellenism came its system of education and its propagandists; and it was their system which the Roman conqueror found when in the second century B.C. he came into the Greek East to be captured in turn by the Greek art of propaganda in education.

Propaganda in Rome

IN THE YEAR 168 B.C. a Greek librarian, Crates of Mallos, was in Rome on an embassy. Returning from a banquet through the ill-lighted streets late at night, he fell and broke his leg; his convalescence was spent in lecturing on Greek literature, using the art of propaganda or rhetoric.⁸ Among his hearers we may imagine the brilliant young twenty-one year old aristocrat Scipio Aemilianus. Impressed, as many keen minds have been since, by the daring of the Greek imagination, he gathered about him a circle of intelligentsia, including the historian Polybius, the philosopher Panaetius, the orator Laelius, (to whose memory Cicero a century later dedicated his essay *On Friendship*), and a young comic poet named Terence. The impetus first given to Greek studies by this coterie continued; young Roman aristocrats, despite the fulminations of the elder Cato, went to study in Athens, now a sleepy university town,⁹ or in Rhodes. Sometimes other motives operated than the improvement of the mind: Cicero, for example, having attacked in his *pro Roscio* a creature of the dictator Sulla, quite accurately says he retired to Asia Minor "to avoid risk to his health."⁷

The interest thus aroused in propagandistic studies continued throughout Cicero's life and became especially prominent during his periods of enforced leisure. One such period

occurred in 55 B.C., when, having returned from exile, he discovered to his intense chagrin⁸ that his political significance was gone. In a pique he retired to one of his many villas—the one at Tusculum—and wrote the *de Oratore*.⁹

The treatise *On the Orator*, in keeping with the convention established by Plato, is cast in the form of a conversation held in the somewhat distant past by a group of aristocrats at leisure. The time is the month of September, 91 B.C. The place is the Tusculan villa of L. Licinius Crassus, ancestor of the millionaire triumvir. The interlocutors are Crassus, who is the mouthpiece for Cicero's own views; M. Antonius, the grandfather of Shakespeare's Mark Anthony; and P. Sulpicius Rufus and C. Aurelius Cotta, both young men of impeccable pedigree. Other occasional speakers also come from the cream of Roman society.

Thus the tone of the work is set. The speakers are conservatives; the setting is a rich villa with shaded walks and lush groves, owned by a man whose family wealth was proverbial, having been acquired by traffic in slaves, the working of silver mines, and the judicious purchase of the lands and houses of proscribed citizens. It will surely be no news to our student that Cicero, too, was a conservative. The democratic origins of propaganda are forgotten, as they had been at least since Isocrates, and the discussion is carried on between men in power, interested in propaganda as a device for preserving the *status quo*.

Our student is entitled to ask what were the platform, the policy, and the institutions of this conservative party. Let Cicero himself answer. They called themselves *optimates*: "the best people." It is well to note this political use of moral terms: "Omnes optimates sunt qui neque nocentes sunt nec natura improbi nec furiosi nec malis domesticis impediti."¹⁰ Their aim, like that of all who are "sani, boni, et beati," is "otium cum dignitate," and the devices by which they acquire it, and which they must be ready to defend with their lives, are "religiones, auspicia, potestates magistratuum, senatus auctoritas,

leges, mos maiorum, iudicia, iuris dictio, fides (credit), provinciae, socii, imperi laus, res militaris, aerarium."¹¹ They oppose the dole, the distribution of public land, citizenship for the Italian allies, reduction of personal debt, government construction of public works, and any increase in the number of elective magistrates, or thereby of the patrician class.

The origin of the distinction between patrician and plebeian in Rome is obscure, but was probably racial. At any rate in historical times every effort was exerted either to make the consulship (the holding of which automatically ennobled the holder) a hereditary, restricted privilege of the patrician clans, or to see to it that by intermarriage or other means plebeians elected to the consulship should be or become sympathetic to the hereditary ruling class. The elections to the offices at the bottom of the *cursus honorum* were crucial, since they led to high stakes of permanent power and vast wealth as consul, proconsul, and senator. Hence the bribery, corruption, coercion, and gang warfare which marked Roman elections in Cicero's time. Roman electioneering generated so much heat partly because the whole system inevitably made the political struggle also a class struggle.¹²

The *optimates* have their enemies, but for Cicero "omnis oratio est cum virtute non cum desidia, cum dignitate non cum voluptate, cum iis qui se patriae, qui suis civibus, qui laudi, qui gloriae, non qui somno et conviviis et delectationi natos arbitrantur."¹³

This is the political and social climate which the *de Oratore* reflects. In this light Crassus, in Book I, discusses the qualifications of the good orator; these include, in his opinion, a wide knowledge of the sciences and of philosophy, and especially of civil law. Antonius disagrees, narrowing the orator's requirements to the faculty of pleasing and persuading, without special knowledge. In Book II he develops in detail the methods of conciliating, instructing, and moving the jury. Julius Caesar Strabo (the degree of whose relationship to the author of the *Gallic War* is unknown) is induced to give a frigid dissertation on the use of wit and humor, of

which he was regarded as a master, with many illustrations, which do not exactly whet our appetite for more. In Book III Crassus discusses styles, adornments, and delivery.

Cicero's Conservative Bias

WITH THIS necessary background sketched in, we can now try to answer some of our student's questions. First, what evidence can we adduce from the dialogue itself and related works of Cicero's use of pro-conservative propaganda? The most obvious place to look is in the introductions to the various books, where Cicero speaks in *propria persona* to his brother Quintus, to whom the work is dedicated. We find the first complaint on the first page:¹⁴ Cicero has been cheated by the perfidy of his enemies of that *otium cum dignitate* which we have seen to be the conservative's birthright. In the introduction to Book III, Crassus is said to have been fortunate in his death: he did not live to see the national disasters of the years following 91. These are specified: they include the war which gave citizenship to Rome's Italian allies, the rise of difference of opinion in the senate, i.e., the split within the conservative party, the rule of the liberal Marius, with its proscriptions (nothing is said of the conservative proscriptions under Sulla), and the "deformation" of the state, presumably by additions to the citizen body. In sum, the disaster consists in the "improborum dominatus," and the context makes clear that by "improbi" Cicero means the party of the *populares*.¹⁵ All this was written in 55 B.C., before Caesar's constitutional and social reforms were put into effect. By 46, when Caesar's party was in full power, Cicero's complaints have reached an unprecedented shrillness: he writes on orators to escape the ingratitude of his unappreciative age; the republic is dead; night has fallen upon the commonwealth; Cicero's public career and his practice at the bar have fallen in ruins.¹⁶

The body of the dialogue, too, is full of references with a bias in political matters. Indeed the whole occasion of the meeting at which the discussion of propaganda takes place was political. Furthermore, the per-

vative idea in Cicero's "rhetorical" works is variations on old Cato's theme: the orator is "vir bonus, dicendi peritus," with a strong tendency on Cicero's part to interpret the word "bonus" in its political sense. To teach the art of propaganda to "improbi" is "furentibus arma dare." Besides, there is a vested interest in restricting knowledge of the science: "veteres illi, qui huic scientiae prae fuerunt, obtinendae atque augendae potentiae suae causa, *pervulgari* artem suam noluerunt." The chief function of the propagandist is "populum . . . inflammare in *improbos*, aut incitatum in *bonos* mitigare." The argument that "multos saepe impetus populi non iniustos esse," and that many secessions of the plebs were in the public interest is advanced as "anceps, inauditus, lubricus, novus," and one not to be brought off without the expenditure of incredible energy and ingenuity. The Gracchi, heroes of the *populares*, "cum civitatem vel paterno consilio vel avitis armis florentissimam accepissent . . . rem publicam dissipaverunt." Their death is held to have been compassed "iure pro salute patriae." Sulpicius, who started his political career as a conservative and switched to the *populares* in disgust at his fellow aristocrats' cheating of the Italians and the poorer citizens of their fair share of political power, is charged with ingratitude. He is a traitor to his class: "quibuscum privatus coniunctissime vixerat, hos in tribunatu spoliare instituit omni dignitate." The idea that the Senate is the servant of the people is repudiated as unmanly Epicurean propaganda; the Senate should drive the people as a charioteer drives an unruly horse. Finally, the student should note the importance attached to "rhetorical" training in defending aristocratic clients charged with extortion, poisoning, murder or embezzlement.¹⁷ Cicero by this time should be established in the student's mind as an almost doctrinaire pro-conservative propagandist.

Theory and Practice

SECONDLY, the student may ask, "How does Cicero resolve the perennial and conflicting claims of theory and practice in the professional man's life?" The special function of

Antonius in the dialogue is to play the part of the hard-headed, practical Roman; but if we can find Crassus decrying theory, we have a genuine clue to Cicero's own opinion. That opinion, as a matter of fact, was confused by two conflicting kinds of pride: pride in his practical achievements as an advocate and politician (though he would prefer us to call him "statesman"), and pride in his theoretical studies under Greek teachers. The character of Crassus reflects this confusion. On the one hand he holds that if too many people devote their leisure to philosophy, the state's expediency will suffer. Some use their leisure in ball-playing, dice, or gambling, others in poetry, music, or dialectics. On the other hand, if we are preoccupied with our profession, men of more leisure will pre-empt our propaganda. Crassus also mentions, as a truth too lofty for mere mortals' comprehension, the Platonic—and humanistic—theory of the oneness of all knowledge: "omnem doctrinam harum *ingenue* et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri: ubi enim perspecta vis est rationis eius qua causae rerum atque exitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidam omnium quasi *consensus* doctrinarum concentusque reperitur."¹⁸ In insisting that these arts are *ingenue*, Cicero does not mean merely that they are fit for free men; they are fit for men who have a *gens*, a family tree, a patent, as it were, of nobility. And he makes of the Platonic unity a parallel to his own conservative political ideal of the *consensus Italiae* and the *concordia ordinum*. As the philosophic unity depends on the Ideas, so, presumably, the political depends upon the benign guidance of the nobility and the Senate. (This is probably not a legitimate deduction from Plato, but it is the one which Cicero pretty clearly makes.) The philosophers may debate these subjects, in their thin and bloodless style, in their holes and corners to pass an idle hour, but for a complete and cogent treatment give Crassus the practical Roman man of affairs, the orator, the propagandist.

In both Antonius' and Crassus' list of commonplaces appropriate for the orator to treat, there occur hints of the titles of Cicero's

own works: *de natura deorum, de amicitia, de legibus, de virtute, de officiis, de re publica*; in fact, there is more than one shy hint in the work that the ideal orator we are seeking is no other than Marcus Tullius Cicero himself. Similarly Mr. T. S. Eliot, whose political, social, and religious opinions Cicero would find thoroughly congenial, in an address entitled "What is a Classic?," by maintaining that the great English classic has not yet been written, gracefully leaves the way open for his humble self.¹⁹

But if there is confusion in Crassus' thought, Antonius is more single-minded. Both he and Crassus compare philosophy to propaganda as the training ground to the battle, and even Crassus maintains that eloquence is not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.²⁰ But Antonius goes further. He condemns Plato, as depicting in his pages an unknown sort of republic, completely in contrast with everyday life and the customs of human communities. Tested by the criteria of propaganda, fustian becomes velvet, and velvet shoddy. Thucydides was no orator; Theophrastus and Aristotle deal in "unexciting and non-controversial subjects"; the poets make more sound than sense. But Cicero reserves his highest praise for Demetrius of Phalerum, the orator of Athens' degradation.²¹ What is the use of studying the devices of our ancestors? They are either obsolete or superseded. And besides, a reputation for theoretical learning can prejudice an orator before a jury. Theoreticians prick themselves with the barbs of their own ingenuity.²² Let Cicero himself have the last word here: what if oratory is as Antonius defines it, a "*res quae mendacio nixa sit, quae ad scientiam non saepe veniat, quae opiniones hominum et saepe errores aucupetur*"? It may lack standards, but it is intensely practical: the orator carries off the prizes of popularity, glory, and power while the philosopher sits babbling unrecompensed in his corner. If a man is to be praised, let it be for these virtues (and note the order: it betrays Cicero's standard of values): family, wealth, connections, friendships, power, good health, good looks, physical strength, and, last of all, intelligence!²³

Leave the theory to the Greeklings; Romans know there is no profit in it. Clearly our student will have to seek elsewhere his synthesis of theory and practice—perhaps in the *Republic* of Plato or in the words of Him who asked, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Experts, Teachers, and the "Layman"

BY THIS TIME our student should be conditioned not to accept Cicero's advice uncritically. What has Cicero to tell him about his relations with his fellow specialists, with his teachers, with "laymen"? The interlocutors in the dialogue, all specialists, treat each other with almost painful politeness. But does not that stem from their common membership in one political party? We have seen in the case of Sulpicius with what savagery Cicero can attack an apostate. Another who disappointed him by joining the *populares* was his friend and pupil Caelius, (who also succeeded Catullus as Lesbia's lover). "So long as he had regard for me and my counsel, in his capacity as tribune, he held out with incomparable firmness on the side of the senate and the best men in the state against the turbulence and madness of the most reckless demagogues. . . . He was made curule aedile with the full support of conservative men, but to my sorrow after my departure he fell away from his own past standards, and, imitating the example of men whom he himself had misled, he brought about his own fall."²⁴

As for teachers, we should expect the rough and ready Antonius to despise them, but Crassus, too, believes that the trained expert has no need of an advanced teacher if his natural endowments are sound, and Cicero himself speaks elsewhere of the "indignity" of teaching, unless it can be done without wasting time, as the old Roman lawyers did it, setting aside no hour for teaching as such, but satisfying students and clients all at once. Almost certainly Crassus' banishment, during his censorship, of teachers of Latin and Greek rhetoric had a political motive, whatever the aesthetic grounds alleged. Propaganda could be worked both ways, and this was a case of

the biter bit. It remained for Julius Caesar to encourage free discussion of all sides of public issues by actually granting citizenship to "liberalium artium doctores."²⁵ As for the Stoic teachers, Crassus dismisses them as out of keeping with his ideal of oratory, and as not holding the same (material) standard of values as other men;²⁶ their knowledge is too wonderful for him; he cannot attain unto it.

Antonius, of course, regards the teacher as no better than a wet nurse; teachers are unnecessary beyond the elementary stage; they are "impractical," especially the Greeks; they are full of error, dullness, and inelegance; it is to them that this man of action applies the famous dictum, since returned with interest in many a professorial *tu quoque*: "tardi ingenii est rivulos consecrari, fontes rerum non videre."²⁷

If our student follows Cicero's advice, he will treat the "layman" with the contempt he deserves. Even though the jurors be "scelerati, pestiferi, supplicio digni," they must be given what they want; that is, what the ruling class wants them to have. Weak points in an argument must be slid over or evaded entirely; intervals between proofs should be concealed to keep them from being counted. The orator should adopt the "mucker pose," to avoid the appearance of being a sage among fools. His hearers are to be worked on, not instructed. Their emotions, not their judgment, are what count to the propagandist. For—and we must grant Antonius the truth of this—"plura enim multo homines iudicant odio aut amore aut cupidine aut iracundia aut dolore aut laetitia aut spe aut timore aut errore aut aliqua permotione mentis, quam veritate aut praescripto aut iuris norma aliqua aut iudicii formula aut legibus." The orator should seem to deal reluctantly and under compulsion with something he is really anxious to prove. He should avoid suggesting that his client was moved by self-interest. He must not poke fun at popular favorites. In short, the propagandist, like the actor, must work up a specious counterpart of genuine emotion and convince his audience that he feels it.²⁸ His job is to persuade; considerations of morality are irrelevant.

The Ideal of the Expert

HAVING COME SO FAR with us, our student will hardly look to Cicero to supply him with a high ideal to take with him into his profession. But Cicero is full of surprises. He was a weak man, living in an age which offered many temptations to weakness. He was vain, vacillating, and a time-server. Politically he was reactionary and doctrinaire. But Augustus, who had better cause than most men to know Cicero's shortcomings, found it in his heart to say to his grandnephew, whom he had caught reading Cicero, "An eloquent man, my son, and a lover of his country."²⁹ Cicero's tragedy was that of Ovid's *Medea*: "Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor."³⁰ And so in his "rhetorical" works he keeps in sight that ideal of the expert which his character and the times prevented his ever achieving. It is for the sake of this ideal that the *de Oratore* remains worth reading, despite the ample evidence it offers that Cicero had feet of clay. Let our student topple the idol that is Cicero, if thereby he gain clearer vision of the ideal which Cicero saw, but could not follow.

The ideal orator, then, will be a man of wide reading in the humanities: in philosophy, especially ethics and logic. Logic is the clenched fist; rhetoric the open palm. He will need a knowledge of civil law and history. He must have a sense of humor, and psychological insight to enable him to anger or to touch the judge. He must be able to pass from the particular to the general, to see in each individual case the application of universal law. He must adapt his speeches to occasions and persons: his openings must be tactful, his statement of facts clear, his proof cogent, his rebuttals trenchant, and his perorations vehement. "For the genuine orator must have investigated and heard and read and discussed and handled and debated the whole of the contents of the life of mankind."³¹

Surely this is an ideal worth putting before the would-be lawyer, physician, scientist, business man or engineer. It is, in short, the humanistic ideal; it combines a pragmatic attack upon present problems with a classical allegiance to a heritage. And the fact that Cicero himself never achieved it makes it

only that much more of a challenge to our own time.

The great German historian Theodor Mommsen, in a famous appraisal,³² speaks of Cicero as a statesman without insight, opinion, or purpose; a fool and a short-sighted egotist; a dabbler who never settled a serious matter; a journalist in the worst sense, abounding in words, poor beyond conception in ideas; a compiler; a stale and empty correspondent, with a thinly varnished superficiality; nothing but an advocate, and not a good one at that. Cicero shows, Mommsen says, absolute want of juristic deduction or political discernment, and so dreadful a barrenness of thought that what is wonderful is not his orations but the admiration they have excited. Mommsen in his life and works showed himself Cicero's better in consistency and courage, and at least his peer in intellectual range. But in this appraisal he throws out the baby with the bath. It somehow succeeds in being sound, up to a point, in each individual criticism, without giving a fair or an accurate synthesis of Cicero's personality as a whole. Perhaps a fairer judgment has been rendered by a man who disliked Cicero as much as Mommsen did, but who had the advantage of living 1800 years nearer to the facts. That man was Asinius Pollio, (the inventor of the *recitatio*), a pessimistic Republican and an honest man, whose independence of speech was proverbial for its ferocity. Of Cicero he had this to say:³³ "I wish he had been able to endure good fortune more moderately and hard times more bravely. For when each had come to him, he thought it could not be altered. . . . He showed more spirit in seeking his quarrels than in facing them. But since perfect virtue has fallen to the lot of no mortal man, one should make his judgments where the greater part of a man's life and talent stands." Cicero, so judged, deserves his place among the immortals.

Propaganda after Cicero: *Conclusion*

NOT ALL the theory and practice of propaganda in Rome was conservative in bias. A few years after the dramatic date of the *de*

Oratore, an anonymous author produced in four books his *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, an undeservedly neglected work, one of the earliest examples of Latin prose, written with a strong sympathy for the *populares* and the Italians.³⁴ Cicero's work may well be a conservative counterblast to this document. A practical application of rhetorical principles with a liberal bias is to be found in Sallust, parts of Livy, and possibly Vergil. But in general Latin literature is as conservative in bias as it is rhetorical in tone. Under the Empire, the pointed and verbally brilliant style, compared by Macaulay to a constant diet of anchovy sauce, reaches the saturation point with Nero's tutor and prime minister Seneca, and its peak with the last of the aristocrats, the brilliant and saturnine Tacitus. Quintilian, who held a professorship under the tyrannical Domitian, has been described as either wrong or doubtful in all his fundamental educational premises. For with Quintilian rhetorical or propagandistic education reached the point where the art of expression is set above the deeper experiences from which we draw our convictions, and at that point both education and civilization are bound to decay.³⁵

After Quintilian the schools put their main emphasis upon style and language. In spite of the protests of Erasmus, the Renaissance humanists like Petrarch fell into this error, and the result was worship of the form instead of critical analysis of the content of Latin. So considered, and only so, it is a "dead language," as dead and as beautiful as a butterfly on a pin. But as the language lives in the Romance tongues, so its ideas, with all their human imperfections, live on in our institutions, governments, and laws. It was not merely the form of Latin that the aristocratic democrats Jefferson and John Adams considered when they modelled the American constitution upon the Roman system of checks and balances. The style of Gaius and Justinian is not polished, but the content lives on for better or worse in the legal system of half Europe. And we should not forget that the European continent first knew the mixed blessings of one world government under the Roman Empire.

It would be folly to gloss over the faults of antiquity. Even if we attempted it, our keener students would penetrate the veneer. The past, they know, is not perfect merely because it is past; hence in part the high determination of many of them to improve the present and perfect the future. Cicero and his friends were human beings, with human prejudices, aspirations, and failings. If the modern student can learn from their mistakes, the Classical teacher will not have taught in vain.

NOTES

- ¹ Cicero, *Orator*, 120.
- ² Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1355 b 25.
- ³ Cicero, *de Oratore*, 2.94.
- ⁴ Isocrates, *Areopagiticus*, 31-32. On Isocrates' politics see now W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, III, (Oxford, 1944) 113 ff.
- ⁵ Scutonium *de Grammaticis*, 2.
- ⁶ *de Or.*, 3.43.
- ⁷ Cicero, *Brutus*, 314; *Orator*, 146; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 3.
- ⁸ Cicero, *ad Familiares*, 1.9.23.
- ⁹ Cicero, *ad Atticum*, 4.13.2.
- ¹⁰ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 97. Italics mine.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 98.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 103; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 38; 39; 41; 42;
- ¹³ 44. F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, (Stuttgart, 1920); R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, (Oxford, 1939).

- ¹⁴ Cicero, *pro Sestio*, 138.
- ¹⁵ *de Or.*, 1.1-3.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.8-12; 2.35.
- ¹⁷ *Brutus*, 7-9; 328; 330. *Orator*, 148.
- ¹⁸ *de Or.*, 3.55; cp. the political use of *furiosi* in *pro Sest.*, 97. *de Or.*, 1.186 (Italics mine); 1.202 (Italics mine); 2.124; 2.199-200; 1.38; 2.106; 2.132; 2.165. A. S. Wilkins, *De Oratore* (Oxford, 1892), Introduction, 19. *de Or.*, 3.11; 1.226; 2.105.
- ¹⁹ 3.56; 3.132; 3.21. (Italics mine).
- ²⁰ 1.56; 2.67; 1.95; T. S. Eliot, *What is a Classic?* (London, 1945).
- ²¹ *de Or.*, 1.157; 2.84; 1.146.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 1.224; 2.56; *Orator* 62; 63; 68; 92.
- ²³ *de Or.*, 1.247; 2.156; 2.158.
- ²⁴ 2.30; 1.15; 2.45-46.
- ²⁵ *Brutus*, 273 (Loeb translation; italics mine).
- ²⁶ *de Or.*, 3.125; *Orator*, 142-144; *de Or.*, 3.93; Suet., *Iul.*, 42.
- ²⁷ *de Or.*, 3.65-66.
- ²⁸ 2.162; 2.69; 2.75; 2.133; 2.117.
- ²⁹ 1.230; *Orator*, 24; *de Or.*, 2.292-294; 2.177; 1.221-222; 2.201; 2.178; 2.182; 2.207; 2.237; 2.189; 1.128; 2.193; 3.83.
- ³⁰ Plut., *Cic.*, 49.
- ³¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7.21.
- ³² *de Or.*, 1.256; 1.68; 1.128; *Orator*, 113; *de Or.*, 1.165-184; 2.36; 1.159; 1.53; *Orator*, 126; *Brutus*, 322; *de Or.*, 2.315; 2.326; 2.292; 2.129; 3.54 (Loeb trans.).
- ³³ T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book 5, chapter 12.
- ³⁴ Seneca, *Suasoriae*, 6.24. Syme, *op. cit.*, 6; 483.
- ³⁵ Wilkins, *op. cit.*, 53.
- ³⁶ R. Ulich, *3000 Years of Educational Wisdom*. (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 162.

Note

A FURTHER WORD ON THE ROMAN CALENDAR

I AM glad that Mr. Bernard M. Allen accepts¹ my explanation of the number of days in the ten-month calendar, noting the analogy of the *ἐννὴ καὶ νέα*. But I think that my explanation of the origin of the short intercalary month, which he rejects,² has much to be said for it, and that the two explanations strengthen one another. The length of this month suggests that it was first used to mark time while an untimely new moon changed to the last quarter. So it should have come close to the correct date for the last quarter. As we don't know the length of the first nameless month, we must try adding the 29 days of the January which later took its place to the 295 days of the ten-month calendar, which addition, as I have shown,³ places the last

quarter neatly on February 23. This result is equally valid if the nameless month had 29 days, or if the named month of 29 days was at first preceded by 295 days. Of course this is not proof, but it seems to me that it is too striking to be ignored when we have so little to guide us. But how often the short month was so used, if ever, and at what stage of the calendar's development, I don't know. It would seem probable that it was after the year had become too long.

JOSEPH DWIGHT

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NOTES

- ¹ *CJ* 43.164 (December 1947).
- ² *Loc. cit.* 167.
- ³ *CJ* 41.274 (March 1946).

ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN LATIN CLASS

LATIN STUDENTS may not have the pleasure of being able to speak their foreign language like the modern language students, but they will get a real thrill if it is pointed out to them that, after only a year of Latin, they have the key to all the Romance languages. Our second-year text contains a few Italian sentences which students can translate by using their Latin. This year I added many easy French and Spanish sentences as well. All the members of the class were able to help translate them, and all were very proud of themselves when they realized that they could read four languages besides English. One boy joked, "Gee, I'm wasting my time, staying in school!"

Below are some sample sentences. It is well to explain that a two- or three-letter word containing the letter *l* usually means "the" (*ille*), and that one containing *d* usually means "of" or "of the" (*de*, "about").

ITALIAN

(From *Latin Book II of the Language, Literature, and Life* series by Scott, Sanford, and Gummere)

In estate la vita in Italia è (est) buona.

In questo (this) libro è la storia d'Italia.

Una nuova via importante in Roma è la

Via dell' Impero.

Il secondo mese (*mensis*) dell' anno è febbraio.

"Madre!" disse Carlo, "non posso aprire (*aperire*) la porta!"

FRENCH

La femme et l'homme sont à la porte.

Le nom de la femme est Marie.

Tu finis tes leçons, que sont longues et difficiles.

Ma (*mea*) fille (*filia*) est dans (in) la classe. Le professeur arrive tard.

Le train vient (*venit*), et nous commençons notre (*noster*) voyage. Nous irons (*future tense*) à Paris pour (to) étudier le français.

SPANISH

Pedro es mi amigo bueno.

Voy (I am going) a obtener una buena nota en latín este (*is*) año. Siempre escribo bien (*bene*) mis lecciones.

Mi amiga me escribe que viene (*venit*) a visitarme el año próximo. Ella (*illa*) vive en otra parte del país (*patria*) y (and) desea ver (*videre*) este estado (omit the *e* and guess).

Ese (*is*) libro fué escrito el año pasado.

FANNYBELLE KISER

Neenah, Wisconsin

ARCHAEOLOGY

The first issue of the Archaeological Institute of America's popular quarterly magazine, *Archaeology*, edited by Jotham Johnson of New York University and *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, appeared in January. Richly illustrated, attractively printed, and bringing the latest in archaeology to the layman in non-technical language, the new magazine steps to the forefront in the current trend toward keeping the public informed of what is going on in specialized fields. The second issue is now in press and will be distributed to subscribers in May.

The editors remind us that Annual Members of the Institute receive, in exchange for their \$10.00 membership fees, either *Archaeology* or the Institute's technical quarterly, the *American Journal of Archaeology*; that Sustaining Members of the Institute receive both; and that mail subscriptions to *Archaeology*, at \$6.00 per annum (address "Archaeology," New York University, New York 3, N. Y.), will be accepted from non-members.

To unlock the future—
Sleep in the skin of a freshly-slain sheep by a water-fall
And the spirits of the dead will come.

Incubation-Oracles

Leslie D. Johnston

STUDY OF THE LIFE and customs of classical antiquity can be interesting in many ways. If, moreover, parallels or similarities can be found between the customs of the Greeks and Romans and other peoples at different ages, the conclusions, or presumptions, which seem possible, are fascinating.

In the ensuing article I have collected and compared the data about incubation-oracles, and have made such conclusions as have appeared obvious. In ancient times, as well as modern, incubation-oracles were popular and widespread. The superstitions, the rites and practices, were very much alike.

Much has been said,¹ to be sure, about incubation-oracles, but the three most prominent characteristics, the use of the fresh fleece, the association with the spirits of the dead, and the location near a waterfall, or stream, have not been sufficiently demonstrated. The use of the fresh fleece appears to be common to all. It was the custom for the consultant to sleep on, or wrapped in, the fresh skin of an animal, a sheep in ancient times, which had been slain just before the devotee lay down to sleep. The generally ac-

cepted view seems to be that this constituted some sort of purification, or exerted some sanctifying and protecting influence over the person participating in the oracle, but an examination of the evidence indicates rather that the fresh skin possessed a magical power and was unmistakably connected with the spirits of the underworld, or at least with spirits beyond the realm of the natural. There is a somewhat sinister feeling behind the incubation-oracle, because one called up the dead. It is true, however, that cures were thought to have been effected at the various sanctuaries, and a benevolence was attributed to the oracle, but this does not appear to have been the character of the original rites.

The oracle-consultant who slept upon the raw skin gained contact thereby with the spirits of the dead which were enticed to him by the bloody skin. The best literary account of the power of blood to draw the spirits of the dead is that of the *Odyssey* 11. 23 ff., the description of Odysseus' consultation with the dead seer, Tiresias. This was unquestionably a bit of magic. It was an old belief among the ancients that the dead revealed the truth, or future if the word is better chosen, in dreams and visions.² This then was the reason for sleeping upon the fresh fleece. The skin was an assurance of the trueness of the vision.

It is clear from Pausanias' account of the oracle to Amphiaraus near Oropus in Attica that the skin in question was not a part of the purification, for he says (Loeb translation, 1.34.5): "One who has come to consult Amphiaraus is wont first to purify himself. The mode of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been first

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done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream." Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae* 17, points to the same feeling. Pythagoras, after having been purified by the Idaean Dactyli, slept during the night beside a river³ upon the fleece of a black ram. Here also the purification has been performed first. Moreover, the black ram is a sure indication of connection with the dead, or underworld. That appears clear, too, in Pausanias' account, since Amphiaraus is a spirit, or at least a seer who was deified after death. Undoubtedly Pythagoras expected a vision, although we are not specifically told that he did.

Association with the Dead

THE ASSOCIATION with the dead is evident in all the incubation-oracles.⁴ Strabo is specific (Loeb translation, 6, p. 284): "In Daunia, on a hill by the name of Drium, are to be seen two hero-temples: one to Calchas, on the very summit where those who consult the oracle sacrifice to his shade a black ram and sleep in the hide, and the other to Podaleirius, down near the base of the hill . . . ; and from it flows a stream which is a cure-all for diseases of animals." Lycophron, *Alexandria* 1047 ff., describes the oracle to Podaleirius, "near Calchas' tomb," and remarks that "to those sleeping upon his tomb in sheepskins the seer truly prophesies by means of a dream." Here one might believe that the truthness of the dream has been emphasized. Tzetzes, in commenting on the passage, merely says that the Daunians, or Calabrians, were accustomed to sleep in sheepskins on the tomb of Podaleirius and to receive prophesies from him in their sleep.

Jerome, *In Isaiam*, Lib. xviii Cap. LXV,⁵ also refers to this custom of sleeping on skins, still done apparently in his time (*hodie*) in the shrine of Aesculapius.

Of all the incubation-oracles, the most interesting is the one described by Vergil, *Aeneid* 7. 81-95, the so-called oracle of Faunus. There is some dispute among scholars as to whether an incubation-oracle to Faunus could be old Roman custom,⁶ but Wissowa has stated the case nicely in Roscher's *Lexicon*

(col. 1456 s.v. Faunus) when he remarks that one has by no means the right to reject the Dream-oracle of Faunus as only a Graecized composition of our poets (Vergil and Ovid).

I propose to translate the passage in Vergil as follows:⁷ "But the king (i.e. Latinus), disturbed by prodigies, approaches the oracle of Faunus, his fate-pronouncing father, and consults the groves beneath lofty Albunea whose great woods resound with the noise of a sacred spring (fons)⁸ and whose dark depths breathe forth a deadly vapor. From this place the Italian clans and all Oenotrian land seek answers to their perplexing questions. When the priest⁹ has brought hither gifts and has reclined beneath the silent night¹⁰ upon the outspread skins of the slaughtered sheep, and has sought sleep, he sees many shapes of wonderous kinds flitting about, he hears sounds of different voices, he enjoys conversation with the gods, and speaks to Acheron in the depths of Avernus."

The passage goes on to reveal that Latinus, on his part, sacrificed one hundred sheep (the number is not significant except to emphasize the importance of the king), and after spreading out the fresh skins, lay upon them. A voice was then heard, coming from the deep woods. But we are more concerned with the first part. The priest sleeps upon fresh skins and sees marvellous phantoms, unquestionably ghosts in any language, and we are specifically told that he speaks with Acheron, the infernal regions.¹¹ It is this part of the account which reveals the original oracle.

Numa and Faunus

OID REFERS to the same oracle of Faunus in his *Fasti* 4. 649-64, in a much similar situation. Both poets indirectly emphasize the antiquity of the oracle by their choice of consultants, i.e., Latinus and Numa. The passage in Ovid may be translated as follows:¹² "There stood an age-old forest, one untouched by the axe throughout the many years, sacred to the Menalian god (Faunus), and so let alone. He was accustomed to give answers to minds quiet in the silent night. Here King Numa sacrifices twin ewes. The

first falls to Faunus, and the other to gentle Sleep. The fleece of each is spread on the hard ground. . . . He (Numa), clothed in a rough garment, places his body upon the fresh (*nova*) fleeces and prays to the god with suitable words. In the meantime, Night, her calm brow girt with poppies, comes and brings dark dreams with her. Faunus is present, and, setting his hard foot upon the skins, proclaims from the right side of the bed such words:"

Although it is idle to speculate upon the question as to who of the two poets has given us the truer or more original account,¹³ W. Warde Fowler regards Ovid's description as the more genuine and Vergil's as having something more of foreign adornment, but Sir James G. Frazer, in his commentary on the *Fasti*, suggests that Ovid's account is based on Vergil's. Either of these worthy scholars may be right, but if the oracle actually existed, and there seems to be little reason to doubt that it did, more than probably both accounts are genuine and equally so. The only artificial elements would be, in Vergil the references dealing with Latinus, and in Ovid those dealing with Numa, and Somnus, and possibly the specific details described in lines 655-8, although I see no real reason to doubt the authenticity of these. The general outline of the oracle is the same: *primaeval* forest sacred to Faunus; responses at night through dreams; proximity of running water (Vergil's *sacro fonte* and Ovid's *fontana . . . unda*); and sleeping on fresh skins, an act that summons the god. That the skin is regarded as important by Ovid would seem evident by his statement that Faunus set his "hard foot" on the fleeces. Ovid, however, does not mention any association with the dead, or underworld, unless they are alluded to in the *somnia nigra* of line 662. The avoidance of rings on the fingers, abstinence from meat and love-making, is indication that magic is involved, however. Yet, if further speculation is in order, because of this omission of reference to the underworld, and because of the details in Ovid's account, in my opinion, Vergil's description in lines 85-91 is of the original oracle.

Summoning the Dead

THE BELIEF that the dead could be summoned by fresh blood and that true prophecies could then be obtained from them seems to be as old as the *Odyssey* (11. 23-37), if we can believe that such stories as that of Odysseus summoning Tiresias by letting the blood of a slain sheep drain into a pit reveal anything of earlier or contemporary custom. Two most interesting vase-paintings, in this connection, are described by Highbarger.¹⁴ One shows Odysseus about to converse with Elpenor. Odysseus is seated on a rock with sword in hand. With the sword he has slain the sheep, the blood of which drains into the pit, and with the sword he will fend off Elpenor and the other ghosts until Tiresias arrives. The other vase-painting shows the meeting with Tiresias. Odysseus, seated over the pit, holds a sword to keep away the other souls. This follows closely the account in *Odyssey* 11. 23 ff. Spirits of Erebus gathered about the blood, but Odysseus kept them all away until Tiresias drew near and said (Loeb translation 95-6): "Nay, draw back from the pit, hold off your sharp sword so that I may drink of the blood and speak to you true words (*νημερτέα*)."

Just as relevant is a vase-painting described by Frazer in his note to Pausanias 1.34.5, reproduced in *Monumenti Inediti* 4, pl. xix (not available to me). The scene, according to Frazer, shows Odysseus sitting with his feet on the skin of a sacrificed ram, and therefore unquestionably a fresh skin, evoking the shade of Tiresias.

It is clear that the function of the raw skin was to entice the spirits of the dead to the consultant. It is true of all incubation-oracles, whether specific hero-deities, spirits of the dead in general, or Faunus by virtue of his chthonic aspects, are involved.

Among the Celts

IT IS POSSIBLE, however, that similar superstitions among other peoples may lend credence to the existence of such dream-oracles among the Romans. In the first place I refer to the Gaelic or Celtic *taghairm*. This most

interesting custom is described by various folklorists,¹⁵ but most vividly by the poet-novelist, Sir Walter Scott, in his *The Lady of The Lake*, canto 4, stanzas 2-7. The passage is worth quoting at some length (4, 2, 24-26):

"Where sleeps the Chief?" the henchman cried.
 "Apart, in yonder misty glade;
 To his lone couch I'll be your guide."

4, 4, 1ff.:

"'Tis well advised,—the Chieftain's plan
 Bespeaks the father of his clan.
 But wherefore sleeps Sir Roderick Dhu
 Apart from all his followers true?"

"It is because last evening-tide
 Brian¹⁶ an augury hath tried
 Of that dread kind which must not be
 Unless in dread extremity,
 The taghairm called; by which, afar,
 Our sires foresaw the events of war.
 Duncraggan's milk white bull they slew."

4, 5, 1ff.:

"That bull was slain; his reeking hide
 They stretched the cataract beside,
 Whose waters their wild tumult toss
 Adown the black and craggy boss
 Of that huge cliff whose ample verge
 Tradition calls the Hero's Targe.
 Couched on a shelf beneath its brink,¹⁷
 Close where the thundering torrents sink,
 Rocking beneath their headlong sway
 And drizzled by the ceaseless spray.
 'Midst groan and rock and roar of stream,
 The wizard waits prophetic dream."

The description is complete and needs no comment. One might feel, however, that there had been some borrowing from Vergil himself, but even granting that, it is an accurate description of the *taghairm*, as revealed from other sources.¹⁸

Brian's report is equally striking, if also equally reminiscent of the experiences of Vergil's *sacerdos*. Cf. 4, 6, 3ff.:

"Roderick! It is a fearful strife,
 For man endowed with mortal life,
 Whose shroud of sentient clay can still
 Feel feverish pang and fainting chill,
 Whose eye can stare in stony trance,
 Whose hair can rouse like warrior's lance,—
 'Tis hard for such to view, unfurled,

The curtain of the future world.
 Yet, witness every quaking limb,
 My sunken pulse, mine eyeballs dim,
 My soul with harrowing anguish torn,
 This for my Chieftain have I borne!
 The shapes that sought my fearful couch,
 A human tongue may ne'er avouch."

Another, much similar, method of consulting the *taghairm* was for a company of persons to retire to some remote spot, wrap one of their number in a fresh cowhide, with only his head left sticking out, and so leave him, alone during the night. He thus received answers to their questions and imparted them to his fellows next morning.¹⁹ Any remote and deserted spot was suitable, although the location under a waterfall was the best.

The Germanic Parallel

THE GERMANIC *liodorsaza*²⁰ also has characteristics similar to the so-called Faunus-oracle, and to the *taghairm*. The earliest account of this seems to be that of Burchard (died 1045) of Worms, in his *Decreta* 19, 5,²¹ in which he inveighs against various New Year's practices for determining the events of the coming year: *vel in bivio* (cross-roads) *sedisti supra taurinam cutem, ut ibi futuras tibi intelligeres?* If anyone has done such, he says, penance must be done. Undoubtedly, although Burchard does not say so, the cowhide was fresh, for the mid-winter season was a popular time for slaughtering cattle. In the same passage he speaks of persons sitting on the roof of the house, girt with a sword, in order to foresee the coming events of the new year. This calls to mind Odysseus sitting at the pit waiting for Tiresias. In this case, however, the sword was probably for protection against hostile spirits.

It is possible, as some think,²² that an earlier reference to the *liodorsaza* is to be found in the works of the Abbot Pirmin (middle of the eighth century) in his *Dicta*.²³ *Nullus Christianus neque ad ecclesiam, neque in domibus, neque in trivio, nec in nullo loco ballationes, cantationes, saltationes, iocos et lusa diabolica facere non presumat*. There is nothing very specific, however, in Pirmin's

prohibitions. One can only guess at what activity precisely took place in *domibus* or in *trivio*, which Pirmin regarded as devilish.

Closely similar to the *liodorsaza* was the Norwegian *útiseti* which has been treated in detail by Rudolf Meissner in his article entitled "Ganga til frettar."²⁴ In this, also, the consultant sat at the cross-roads upon a fresh skin. Meissner (p. 104) cites as a reference Jon Arnason²⁵ who has described a custom of divination in Iceland very much like those under discussion. The time is New Year's Eve, or Saint John's Eve, and the site is that where four roads meet, roads which lead straight to four cemeteries. This shows an unmistakable connection with the dead, for the dead know all, and by means of the procedure will be compelled to tell you what they know. The consultant lies wrapped in a cowhide as in the *taghairm*, or in a walrus-skin, and holds an axe in his hand. The axe is to protect the diviner, and calls to mind, again, Odysseus' use of the sword to keep off the spirits of the dead. Such practices as these appear to have persisted till the nineteenth century, at least.²⁶

It is possible, also, that this practice of sitting by the cross-roads, or wayside, in order to foresee the future, may be alluded to in the Edda: *opt þelvisar konur sitza brauta naer þær er deýfa sverð ok sefa*.²⁷

The Anglo-Saxon Parallel

IN ORDER TO ROUND OUT our discussion only a reference to some Anglo-Saxon practice is needed, and that is supplied by Ecbert's *Poenitential* 4, 19:²⁸ *Si quis sortilegia vel divinationes exerceat, vel vigilias suas ad fontem aliquem (his waecan aet aenigum wylle²⁹ haebbe) . . . habeat. . .* This divination beside a spring, or well (see the original meaning of well), must surely be a custom much the same as the *liodorsaza* or *taghairm*. In turn, all of these have characteristics very much like the so-called Faunus-oracle as described by Vergil and Ovid.

With such remarkably similar examples from the ancient Greek and Roman writers, from early Germanic (including Norwegian and Icelandic) and Anglo-Saxon folklore, and

from what seems to be a survival of an old Celtic custom, one is tempted to assert that the same practice was common to all, namely the consultation of the dead to learn the future. One may call it incubation-oracle. In almost all, the same details appear: sleeping, or in a trance, on fresh skins, beside a stream, or spring, preferably near a cataract, in order to obtain from the spirits of the dead a true prediction of the future. The vision obviously comes from the spirits of the dead, or from deities with chthonic attributes, and the truthness of the prediction is to be emphasized.

In view of the comparisons just drawn, it might be concluded, plausibly enough, that the incubation-oracle described by Vergil and Ovid portray true old Roman custom, but that it is possible that Faunus is an interloper, associated with the oracle by reason of his wild, mysterious, and chthonic character.³⁰ Even so, that association must have been very early. As for the Greeks, I offer the presumptuous suggestion that originally only the unnamed dead gave such oracles, but later, due to the prominence of such hero-seers as Amphiarus, Calchas, and Podaleirius, the oracles were assigned to them.

An excellent indication of the strong hold that such practices have upon peoples is the modern manner of sleeping in sanctuaries of the Saints, or in churches, in order to be cured of a disease or an affliction, or to see a vision.³¹

Near Running Water

IT REMAINS to emphasize one other interesting common characteristic of the oracles discussed above, and that is the location near a stream of water, and probably near a cascade or waterfall. Frazer has pointed out that the temple of Amphiarus at Oropus in Attica was situated among springs and brooks with trees all around.³² The oracle of Calchas at Drium also seems to have been located near a stream,³³ and, as was mentioned above, according to Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorae*, Pythagoras slept on a black ram's skin beside a stream. Although there is some doubt about the Faunus-oracle, scholars are generally of the opinion that it was located near Tibur in the grove of Albunea, probably by the waterfall

of Tibur.³⁴ This is undoubtedly correct. Further, we have seen that the Celtic *taghairm* was most suitably observed beneath the arch of a waterfall, and Ecbert's Poenitential speaks of the Anglo-Saxon watch beside a "well" (the Latin is *fontem*). Undoubtedly the location beside the running or falling water was important, for it lent mystery and an eerie feeling in the remote woodland, most conducive to the trance, or sleep, into which the consultant must fall in order to behold his vision. The *hiodorsaza* and *utiseta* appear to have been observed customarily at a cross-roads.

In conclusion, I maintain that the skins upon which the consultant lay, or in which he was wrapped, as he consulted the oracle, exercised no purifying or sanctifying influence, but rather summoned up the wild spirits of the dead, possibly the devil and his minions in later times, and secured from them a true revelation of the future.³⁵ But to say the least, the consultation of the oracle was a hazardous undertaking if one can believe our great poets, Vergil and Scott.

NOTES

¹ Mary Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Diseases in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, London, 1906, 84-85; Ludwig Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor*, Leipzig, 1900, 24. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 3d. ed., Cambridge, 1922, 27, after discussing the "Dian fleece," speaks of magical fleeces and asserts that the skin of the victim has a magical efficacy as medicine against impurities, but while this may be true of the "Dian fleece," it certainly does not fit the case of the incubation-oracle. See further, L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1907, vol. III, 240; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig, 1906, 5-6; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d. ed., London, 1914, vol. 3, 312 and note 3, and vol. 7, 38, and in his commentary on Pausanias 1.34.5. In the latter, Frazer asserts that the skin was believed to exercise a sanctifying and protective influence over the person who lay wrapped in it. But Wilhelm Kroll, "Alte Taufgebräuche," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (1905) 27-53, 37, does not agree with this general view, and believes that its influence is rather magical, and so it is. In the case of the *Mysti*, however, he suggests (39) that the sitting on the skins forms some sort of a bond with the god. This is true of many uses of skins in ancient rites, but not so of the incubation-oracle. W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination, A study of its methods and principles*, London, 1913, 131-132, remarking upon the practices of the Celtic *taghairm* (discussed below) says that the act of sleeping upon the skin is a

form of union with magic power. Rudolf Meisner, "Ganga til frettar," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 27 (1917-18) 96-103, 103, asserts that the querant transfers the magical power of the hide to himself. Kroll, Halliday, and Meisner are close to the right answer to the question, for it is in the raw and bloody skin that the magical power lies. What that power was thought to do, will be seen below.

² See E. L. Highbarger, *The Gates of Dreams, The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, no. 30, Baltimore, 1940, 37-38.

³ The significance of the location by a river or a stream of running water will be discussed below.

⁴ See also Kroll, l.c., 39. Eustathius, however, in speaking of Dodona (ad *Iliadum* XVI, 233ff.) says that such prophecies came from Zeus to those who slept in skins. But Zeus is seldom a god of prophecy, and has no part with the incubation-oracle.

⁵ Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 24, p. 657A.

⁶ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München, 1902, 174, does not seem positive. Richard Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, 3d. ed., Leipzig, 1928, 176, n. 2, doubts it. Frazer does not seem to question it, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, abridged edition, New York, 1923, 228, but in his commentary on Ovid's *Fasti* 4.649, he remarks that the mode of consultation was Greek rather than Roman, but again he raises no question in commenting on Pausanias 1.34.5. W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1908, 262-263, regards Ovid's account as the more genuine and Vergil's as having something of foreign adornment. Otto, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. *Faunus*, col. 2070, maintains that the judgement on the details of the *Traumorakel* of Faunus must be withheld. But see below for further argument.

⁷ The passage runs as follows, *Aeneid*, 7.81-95:

At rex sollicitis monstribus oracula Fauni
Fatidici genitoris, adit, lucosque sub alta
consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca memphitum.

- 85 Hinc Italiae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
in dubiis responsa petunt. Huc dona sacerdos
cum tulit, et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti
pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petiuit,
multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
90 et varias audit voces, fruitur deorum
conloquio, atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis.
Hic et tum pater ipse petens responsa Latinus
centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentes,
atque harum effulsit tergo stratisque iacebat
95 velleribus; subita ex alto vox reddita luco est.

⁸ I should like to have *fonte* mean, with *sonat*, a cascade.

⁹ Fairclough, Loeb translation, conceives of a priestess here, but I doubt if any of the feminine sex were involved in such a nerve racking ordeal. Moreover, it would be a tough job for a woman to slaughter the sheep by herself. Unquestionably Fairclough is wrong. So is Edward Ulback, "Sacred Groves of Latium," *CJ* 29 (1933-34) 661, who thinks of a "prophetess," and so a priestess here.

¹⁰ Cyril Bailey, *Religion in Vergil*, Oxford, 1935, 26, speaks of a temple here, but surely there was no building of any kind in this grove. It was a wild forest with no human associations, and the priest slept sub nocte silenti.

¹¹ I do not see any contradiction in *fruitur deorum conloquio* for such gods could easily be regarded as from Acheron. In fact, *deorum conloquio* is probably an appositive with *Acheronta adfatur*. Faunus, however, can easily be associated with Acheron because of his chthonic aspects, for which see Otto, l.c., cols. 2056-2057, 2065. However, Ulback, l.c., thinks the gods of Olympus are meant, with which idea I cannot agree.

¹² The text of Ovid, *Fasti* 4.649-664:

Silva vetus nullaque diu violata securi
 650 *stabat Maenalis sacra relicta deo:*
ille dabat tacitis animo responsa quieto
noctibus; hic geminas rex Numa mactat oves.
Prima cadit Fauno, leni cadit altera Somno;
sternitur in duro vellus utrumque solo;
 655 *his caput intonsum fontana spargitur unda,*
bis sua sagina tempora fronde tegit;
unus abest Veneris, nec fas animalia mensis
ponere, nec digitis anulus ullus inest;
veste rudi tectus supra nova vellera corpus
 660 *ponit adorato per sua verba deo.*
Interea placidam redimita papavere frontem
Nox venit et secum somnia nigra trahit;
Faunus adest oviumque premens pede vellera duro
edidit a dextro talia verba toro.

¹³ See above, note 6.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 8, n. 21.

¹⁵ Halliday, op. cit., 131, quoting from Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 495; Frazer on *Pausanias*, 1.34.5, and references; Scott's own note on the custom; and J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1876, by E. H. Meyer, vol. II, 934.

¹⁶ Brian, the seer, "fiend-begotten monk," was a fearsome creature himself. See canto 3, 5-7.

¹⁷ The customary place for such oracles was under the arch formed by a waterfall. See Halliday, op. cit., 131.

¹⁸ See the references cited in note 15.

¹⁹ Halliday, op. cit., 131.

²⁰ *Liodorsaza*, O.H.G. *hleodarsaza*, means "sitting to receive an oracle." *Taghairm*, according to Meissner, l.c., 103, means "echo" (Widerhall), but he quotes T. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 31, as translating with "spirit-call," "the calling of the spirits back from the vasty deep."

²¹ Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 140, 9600. See also *Vita S. Eligii* 2, 16 (Grimm, op. cit., 402): *praeterea*

quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, non quaerantur praecantatores, non divini, non sortilegi, non caragi, nec per fontes, aut arbores vel bivios diabolica phylacteria exercentur.

²² E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, Strassburg, 1903, 308.

²³ *Dicta Abbatis Pirmini de sigulis libris canonicis scarapsus* 22 (Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 89, 1041 D; C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdota*, Christiania, 1883, vol. 1, 176).

²⁴ Cited in note 1. See also Boehm, s.v. *Anhang in Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 1, 412; Meyer, op. cit., 308. Such practices were most common during Christmastide.

²⁵ Jon Arnason, *Icelandic Popular Legends and Tales*, Leipzig, 1862-64, 2 vols., vol. 1, 436 (in Icelandic).

²⁶ See also Meyer, op. cit., 308, of Iceland and Germany. Frazer on Ovid, *Fasti* 4.649, of southern Italy.

²⁷ Karl Hildebrand, *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, (Saemunder Edda), Paderborn, 1876, *Sigdrifumal*, 27. Also quoted by Grimm, op. cit., 934. "Oft evil women sit by the wayside, who deaden swords and valor."

²⁸ Cited and quoted by Meissner.

²⁹ A "well" here is surely a spring.

³⁰ Faunus' nature is well suited to such an oracle. He lived in the wild forests, wooded cliffs, and near the rippling spring-waters. Mysterious sounds issuing from these were attributed to him; he was the spirit of these places, wild, fearsome, sometimes good, sometimes bad. Moreover, Vergil, in the lines describing the vision of the priest, says nothing of Faunus. The spirits are vague and indefinite, like those of the Celtic *taghairm*, the Norwegian, or Icelandic, *útiseta*, and possibly those of Pythagoras' dreams beside the river.

³¹ Mary Hamilton, op. cit.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Leipzig, 1894, 174, n. 4.

³² *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 225.

³³ Jacques Perret, "Calchas et les Bergers chez les 'Metinates ex Gargano'," *Rev. Archæol.* 10 (1937) 181-198, summarized by Hulley, C. W., 32 (1937-38) 83; Strabo 6.284, translated above.

³⁴ Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 228; J. A. Hild, *Dahremberg-Saglio*, s.v. *Faunus*, col. 1023; Wissowa, *Pauley-Wissowa*, s.v. *Albunea*, col. 1337, and in *Roscher's Lexicon* s.v. *Faunus*, col. 1456; Otto, l.c.; and L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 3d. ed. by H. Jordan, Berlin, 1881, vol. 1, 383.

³⁵ To be sure, there are practices involving the use of skins in the religious customs and superstitions of the Greeks and Romans which do appear to have some sort of sanctifying and protective associations, but these have no part in the incubation-oracle.

ATLANTIC STATES

The Spring meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held at the University of Pittsburgh on April 23 and 24, 1948 (Friday-Saturday). Headquarters will be at the Hotel Schenley.

AN ANCIENT TRADEMARK



C IVLI BRVNDIS(II?)

Ed. Note—The ancients transported wine and other fluid commodities in tall clay jars of five to eight gallons capacity which, beautiful though they may appear to us, were produced as utensils of commerce, not objets d'art. Frequently the handles were marked with stamps, pressed into the soft clay before baking, to indicate who the potter was.

The photograph above shows, in actual size, the stamp on the handle of a shipping jar which was imported to Caesar's colony at Corinth. It is published here by permission of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Miss Virginia Grace, author of the article "Wine Jars" which appeared as *CJ*'s archaeological feature in May 1947, sent with the picture an explanatory note contributed

by Mr. Louis C. West, lecturer in Classics at Princeton University. "While the name is new, it seems to belong to a group previously known, which includes such stamps as C IVL PAR (found at Rome), C IVL POLY (found at Rome and at Torre di Palma), C IVLI NICI (found at Ferrara and at Nimes), C IVLI MARCELLI (found at Giulia Nova and at Athens), C IVLI SOE . . . (found at Carthage), C IVLI SVRI (found at Bene Vagienna, Autun, and Trion). The names seem to indicate a group of workmen owned or employed by a certain Gaius Iulius rather than the names of different Roman citizens each with praenomen, nomen and cognomen. The date seems to be the first century B.C.—first century A.D.; the place of manufacture, southern Italy."

In our April issue—

"COIN TYPES AND ROMAN POLITICS"

By Laura B. Voelkel

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from Page 338

Hesiod is quoted on the age of Saturn, and the piece ends: "The golden age of Saturn was as near to the vision of 'peace on earth, good-will to men' as the old Roman could get as he went about this week's celebration of the Saturnalia."

PROFESSOR JOTHAM JOHNSON, of New York University, who clipped the above item from the *Times*, also sent in the "Topics of The Times" column for December 15. Commenting on the marked decrease in the number of students taking foreign languages in New York City schools, noted by this department in the January issue, the writer relates the phenomenon to the well-known American predilection for insisting that other peoples speak our language. Further it is suggested that one factor discouraging foreign language study "may be that Latin introduces many youngsters to a foreign tongue for the first time. As they grope from *amo*, *amas*, *amat* through the dim forest of the pluperfect subjunctive they may vow firmly, never again, thus to miss the many pleasures that come from a mastery of new languages." A special school committee in New York studying the problem declared that language study must be encouraged for the sake of improving our relations with other nations. "And if we persist in ignoring them (i.e. foreign languages)?" concludes the columnist, "Perhaps, then, *exeunt omnes!*"

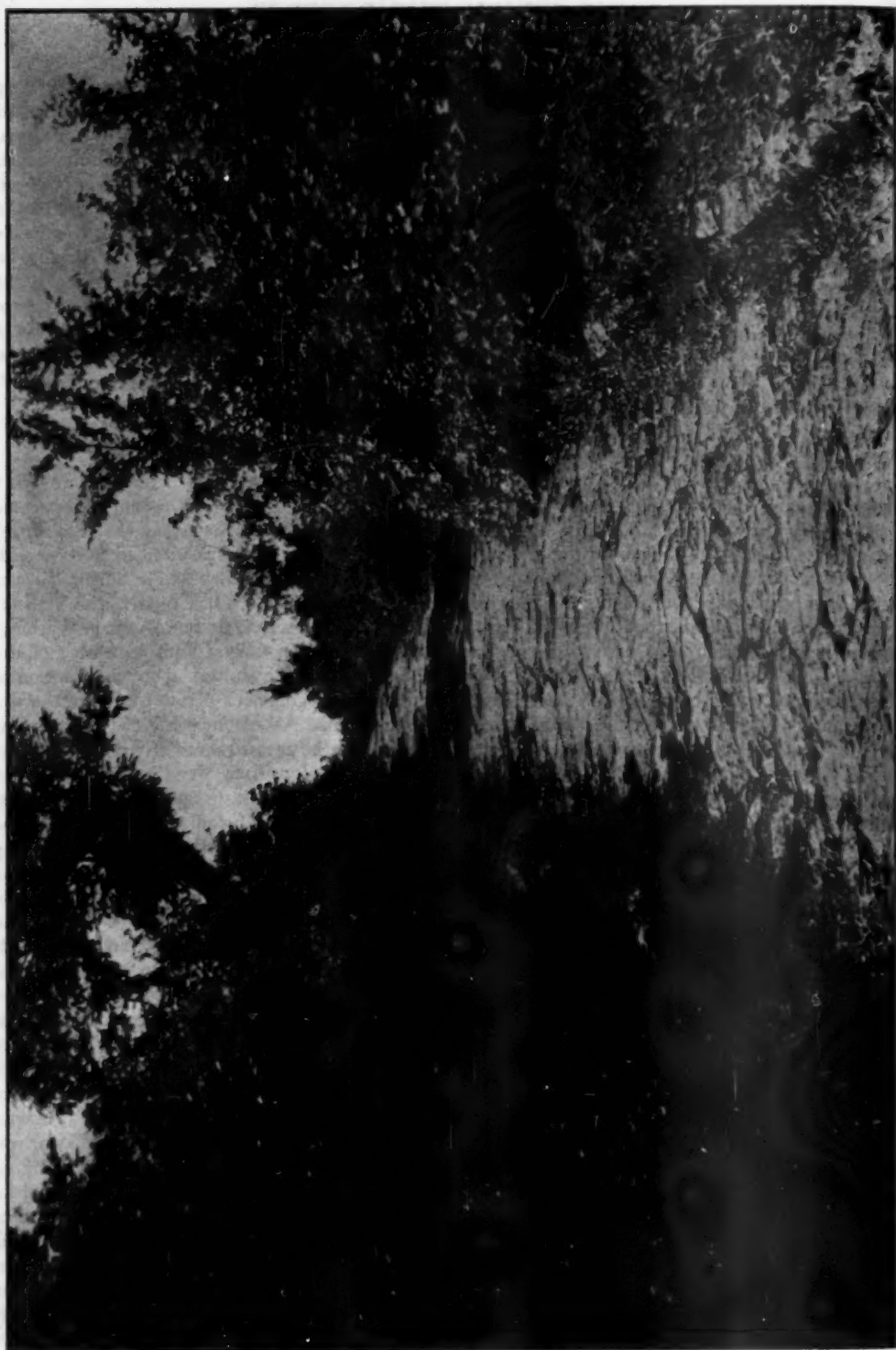
GRANTED THAT LATIN and other difficult subjects may discourage some students, there are still educators who stoutly recommend Greek. "Though the remark may sound austere, it is still true that the study of Greek offers the finest discipline that may be had in literature," says a report of the Commission on Liberal Education of the Association of American Colleges. The report, reviewed in *TIME* January 19, suggests that the attitude toward the Classics fostered by popular book clubs is a delusion, that literature requires study and is more than entertainment.

OF THE classics currently popular, whether by way of study or entertainment, Thucydides has received a full share of attention, and the review of Louis E. Lord's book in the February issue of *CJ* indicates the universal and ageless character of his presentation of history. See also a note on

page 378 of this issue. We recall that very early in the recent war, before the entry of the United States, the radio news commentator Elmer Davis, who later directed the Office of War Information, wrote an article pointing out parallels between the situation then and the development of the Peloponnesian War. Recently Elsa Maxwell's column reported that John Gunther claimed to be reading Thucydides "to learn all about modern politics and modern war." Perhaps Justice Holmes' inclusion of the book in his "Day of Judgment Book" list (*vide supra*) presents the ne plus ultra in projecting the wisdom of Thucydides into the future.

PROFESSOR Catherine Torrance of Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia, has sent us an article from the *Atlanta Constitution* (Nov. 18, 1947) which is particularly pertinent in connection with E. L. Highbarger's review of *The Singing Farmer* in our February issue. The *CONSTITUTION*'s editor, Ralph McGill, writes that on a visit in Washington he had been talking with a member of the Department of Agriculture about the rotation of crops with leguminous plants to fortify the soil in the South. Asked how long the practice had been in use, he guessed about fifty years. Then the man read to him from Vergil's *Georgics*: "Let . . . the husbandman (farmer) sow his golden spelt (wheat) where before thou hadst reaped the pea with wealth of rattling pods, or the tiny vetch crop, or the brittle stalks and rustling underwood of the bitter lupine . . ." The editorial continues: "I didn't believe it. I got up and walked over and took the book and read it. It was there, all right. Almost 100 years before the Birth of Christ [i.e., within the first century.—Ed.] Virgil had been writing about blue lupine and about planting crops in fields where before had been planted the bitter, or blue lupine, vetch or Austrian peas. All last summer I had been writing about blue lupine as if it were as new as radio or television. Sue Myrick, in Macon, was the Blue Lupine Queen, and I was the King, at least in newspaper circles. And now I learned we both had been scooped by Virgil about 2,000 years ago. It was very upsetting." Editor McGill points out that the art of rotation with legumes was lost to the world after the fall of the Roman Empire, and he concludes that the fall was largely due to the decline of agriculture.

W.C.S.



William M. Seaman

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An American teacher reports
on a six-weeks' visit to Rome and Italy



A Roman Summer

Lydian Russell Bennett

DID YOU EVER WISH you knew a magic bank with inexhaustible funds? Such a bank has been discovered by those who invested last summer in Rome. Whether one's withdrawals come under the head of information, topics for conversation, or thrilling memories, the supply is never drained.

The first post-war summer session of the American Academy in Rome was held in July and August of 1947. After overcoming many hazards, such as standing in line from 9:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. without any lunch, twenty fortunate pilgrims finally boarded the S. S. *Saturnia* on June 27 to sail for Naples, on a quest for adventure and knowledge.

From the time we walked up the gang-plank, we were in another world. *Every* sign was in Italian, the food was *pasta*, and discomforts abounded on such a crowded ship; *itaque in tanta rerum iniquitate eventus varii sequebantur*. But fortified with Italian dictionaries and grammars, with typical American good sportsmanship, and, most important of all, with a healthy sense of humor, the thirteen days on the *Saturnia* remain an indelible memory which runs the gamut from deepest disgust to howls of laughter. Regardless of international complications, Neptune and Aeolus were on our side; the weather was perfect.

Eighteen of us women were quartered in one large *camerone* with a bath, which was an

approach to luxury, as some cabins housed as many as one hundred men. By rising at 5:00 A.M. the first morning, we were successful in purchasing deck chairs. But since the ship carried only one-fifth enough chairs, a keen daily struggle ensued for the possession of one's own chair. (Was it this experience which fitted us to grapple so successfully later on with the seething crowds on the trams and buses in Rome?) A constant shuffling of name cards on the backs of the chairs took place. Disgusted by this, the writer used a lipstick to mark a huge red X on the back of her chair. A two-hundred-pound man seemed to prefer this particular chair. But after the owner pointed out the mark, he, evidently believing she could not write, very sympathetically and courteously helped to locate the chair each day.

Since only a swinging drape covered the door to our *camerone*, privacy was nil. Occasionally haggling with the steward resulted in a clean towel, usually for a quarter tip, and one of our group succeeded in obtaining clean sheets for her bed for the modest sum of two American dollars. The shower could be turned on or off only by the steward. He claimed to understand no English, but just as one stepped into the shower he would open the door and say, "Water on?" Just as one began to recover enough from this shock to ply the soap, the door would burst open and a solicitous voice would ask, "Water hot?" With a frantic gesture to be off, and vainly trying to think of a chilling retort in Italian, the would-be bather knew no further interruption could possibly come. But again the door burst open and the voice said anxiously, "Too hot?" After a few experiences like this, our ingrained habits of American cleanliness retreated like a toy army.

(Lydian Russell Bennett teaches Latin at East Liverpool (Ohio) High School. Her M.A. thesis (University of Pittsburgh, 1946), a translation of an eighteenth-century Dutch medical work in Latin, on "blue babies," caused a medical sensation. In 1947 she was awarded the scholarship for the Summer Session of the American Academy in Rome, offered by the Ohio Classical Conference.



FIRST ROW, left to right: Fanny C. Maggiolino, Utica, N. Y.; Marjorie Koppel, Brooklyn; Marie Cotten, Washington, D. C.; Mary Ruth Hertzman, Chicago; Lydian R. Bennett, East Liverpool, Ohio; and Elizabeth H. Ferguson, Detroit.

SECOND ROW, left to right: Dorothy Rounds, Cambridge, Mass.; Jane Perkins, Brookline, Mass.; Laura B. Voelkel, Brooklyn; Cordelia Alderson, Lincoln, Neb.; Virginia Lanning, St. Paul, Minn.; Mrs. W. W. Lanning, Canton, Ohio; and Hazel Girvin, Newport, Ky.

THIRD ROW, left to right: Richard Marshall, Baltimore; Robert A. Brooks, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor Henry J. Rowell, Director of Summer Session; Richard Payne, Berkeley, Calif.; James Lynch, Pittsburgh; and Justine Dyer, Framingham, Mass.

Not in picture: Mary FitzPatrick, Highland Park, Ill. (Photo by William M. Seaman)

One of the Classicists was assigned to a table with ten men, one of whom could speak English. Due to many food allergies and the language barrier, the meals did not progress very gaily for her loquacious type. So she frequently sat in dumb admiration of the talented little man across the table. Always wearing his hat, he ladled the spaghetti to his mouth with both hands, smoking a cigarette at the same time, a feat which even an accomplished grammarian would admit requires some ingenuity. One day our Classicist was served a piece of fish which she dared not eat.

After many vain attempts to make the waiter understand, one of the men said something in Italian, and the steward removed the plate and returned with a piece of steak. Delighted, she took a bite and discovered the meat had not been salted. She glanced down the table for the salt dish. Sensing her need, the little man with the hat stood up, reached away down the table for the salt, dipped into it with the fork with which he had been eating, and reached across the table and sprinkled the salt on her steak. Then, tipping his hat, he sat down. Nonplussed for the second, the Ameri-

can murmured "Grazie!," one of the few Italian words she knew. While all eyes at the table watched to see what she would do, she ate the steak. Later, judging from the smiles and nods of approval, she was delighted to realize that a major step in international good will had been accomplished.

Winding slowly through the Azores at sunset time provided a kaleidoscope of rare beauty. The ship ran so close to the shores of the small green islands that houses, vehicles, and the terraced gardens could be seen quite clearly, highlighted here and there by a white church steeple.

Two days later the majesty of Gibraltar engrossed the attention of all. After passing the Rock, we stayed close to the Spanish shore, and then veered northward to Genoa. Here we learned that the decreased speed had been due to a defective motor. But the twenty-four hour delay in Genoa proved an unexpected delight. Two shore excursions enabled us to see the interesting points in Genoa, to become acquainted with a *cambio* and the mysteries of the current procedures of changing money, and also to enjoy a bus trip along the beautiful Italian Riviera to Santa Margherita and Rapallo.

The next day we travelled southward over the soft blue Mediterranean, revelling in the grandeur of the mountain scenery on the left. The last night on shipboard was one of white lunar beauty, lilting songs, and vows of eternal friendship.

Three men died and a baby was born during this eventful crossing. Rumor had it that the poor little thing was named Saturnia, in honor of the ship.

Having been warned beforehand of the dangers in the harbor at Naples, a "stagger" system had been arranged, which provided that four of us should guard the cabin and our luggage an hour at a time. The others were free to stay on deck and watch the famous islands, and to gaze in awe at the fearful havoc wrought by war. Rusting hulks of famous ships, some on their sides, some completely overturned, filled this once beautiful harbor. The quay was badly damaged, and now is in a doubtful state of semi-repair.

Shortly after we docked, a gladsome sight met our eyes in the person of Mr. Laurance P. Roberts, Director of the American Academy in Rome. He came aboard, welcomed us kindly, and gave practical directions about getting through Customs and finding the bus which was to take us all to Rome. With people shouting on all sides of us in a strange tongue, and after interminable questions and delays, we finally completed the Customs. Then, one at a time, preceded by our porter and luggage, we had the horrendous experience of passing for about three blocks between closely pressing lines of beggars, toothless old women, ex-soldiers exhibiting the stumps of arms or legs, and children with their almost naked bodies covered with sores. Our pity was only exceeded by our fright.

Finally we had all reached the big red bus. Then we went to the famous Santa Lucia Hotel for lunch. Here we had the usual spaghetti, wine, and fruit, eaten in a room where the pockmarks of bombing and the smell of fresh concrete were very obvious. Then we started up the highway for Rome.

The typical Italian countryside with groves of ancient olive trees, neat vineyards, and multi-colored farm houses presented a moving picture of interest and vivid color. Here and there to the left would flash a brief stretch of blue sea, while to the right rose the chartreuse-colored Appenines, dotted intermittently with the quaintly lovely hill towns of ancient Italy. It was a thrill to pass Minturnae and its famous excavations.

All along the way evidences of bombed-out villages met our eyes. Among the most memorable were Terracina and Formiae. At one village the brave sign "Banca" was displayed above two crates covered by a plank, where men were endeavoring to carry on the financial business of the day.

As we neared Rome in the deepening twilight, less and less signs of war damage were seen. Sometimes we were travelling on the ancient Appian Way, and then again parallel to the old on the new Appian Way, built to facilitate troop movements. Over the entire distance the road was in good condition, except for temporary bridge spans which



Seaman

PROFESSOR HENRY T. ROWELL LECTURING
ON MONTE ALBANO.

brought to mind the newspaper stories of the stand the Germans made as they retreated northward from river to river.

After a memorable sunset we drove through the ancient wall of Rome, and found ourselves in a changed world. Lights were gleaming brightly. People were dancing and eating at the innumerable sidewalk cafés. Soft Italian voices rose in song. The magic of the July night was everywhere.

Crossing the Tiber via the Ponte Garibaldi, we climbed the Janiculan Hill, now called Monte Verde, to Via Angelo Masina 5, and were admitted through the grilled gateway of the American Academy by the faithful Giuseppe, who personally protected and advised everyone of us in social, economic, linguistic, and romantic interests throughout our stay in Rome.

Inside the gate we were cordially welcomed by Prof. Henry T. Rowell, the Director of the Summer Session. After walking

through the garden and up the stairway through the formal entrance, we entered the *cortile*. Here a long table was set, lighted by tall white candles. We enjoyed an excellent dinner, consisting of spaghetti, veal steak, green beans, eggplant, salad, white bread, fruit, wine and coffee. Climbing the forty gleaming white marble stairs to the second floor, we were shown to our spacious rooms. Any doubts or misgivings any one may have had about the venture were soon lulled to sleep by the music of the fountain in the *cortile*, while we enjoyed a deserved night's rest in the palatial building we soon learned to call home.

The American Academy is situated near the summit of the highest hill in Rome, where it commands a superb view of the Eternal City. The building was erected in 1895. Interesting archaeological treasures were unearthed while excavating for the Academy, many of which are used in the decorative scheme. The floors are generally of terracotta tile, the walls are painted a soft silvery gray, and the massive furniture is upholstered in heavy white linen. The handsomely-equipped library is both a joy and a challenge. The school merits, both in setting and faculty, the commendation of the most critical, and it was always with a thrill of patriotic pride that we said to the taxi drivers, "*Accademia Americana!*"

Since we were late arriving, due to the delay of the ship, classes began the next morning immediately after breakfast. The daily schedule usually followed this plan: Breakfast from eight to nine o'clock, field trips from nine until twelve o'clock, lunch at one o'clock, study or *riposa*, tea at four-thirty, lectures from five to six o'clock, dinner at eight o'clock, then study in the library in the cool of the evening. The program was slightly strenuous due to the extreme heat of an Italian summer, but so well-planned, diversified, and interesting that not one item could justifiably have been omitted. According to *sub rosa* information, Professor Rowell has arranged a better course for the summer of 1948, which complies with the suggestions and criticisms he so generously invited at

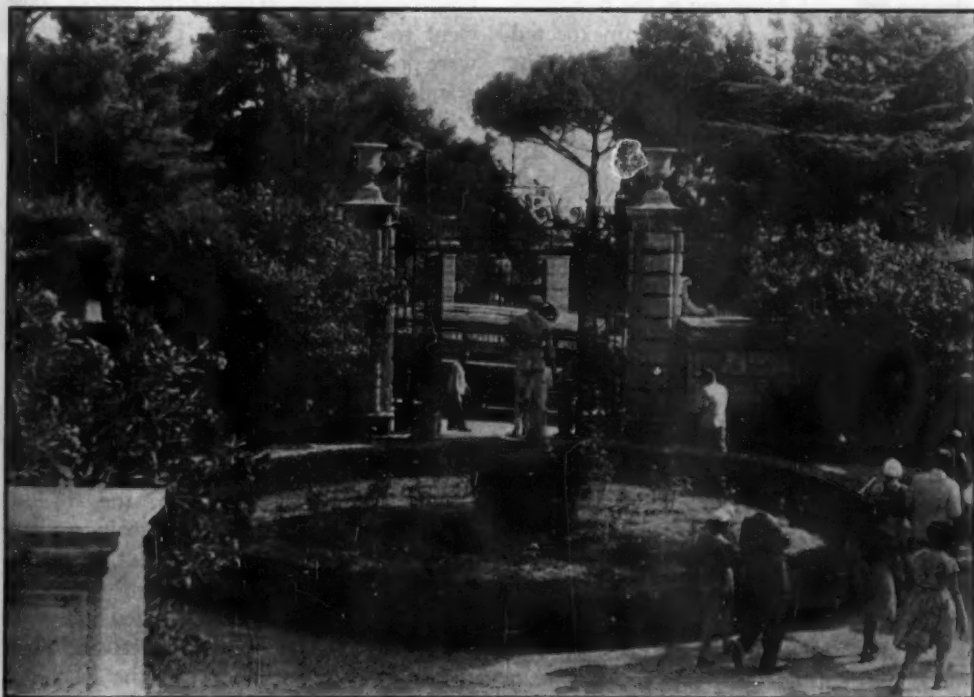
all times. There were some unorthodox folk who lovingly and loyally referred to the set-up as "Rowell's Reducing Course." In retrospect this cold, winter night, as I write these lines, with ice and snow piled in great drifts outside, one wonders how the summer of 1947 could have been more perfect.

Studying Roman history, art, and archaeology in the Roman Forum or in the Baths of Diocletian is a far cry from reading a book. Climbing over the majestic ruins of the Colosseum, one can almost hear echoes of the shouting throngs which assembled there. Hunting for the site of Cicero's home on the Palatine Hill makes him seem alive and real. Every day's trips gave fresh proof of the "grandeur that was Rome" and the actual life of the people. These trips were either preceded or amplified by pertinent class lectures.

Usually Professor Rowell gave the lectures, but a few special subjects were presented by Prof. A. W. Van Buren, Prof. Dawson, and

Dr. Charles R. Morey, cultural attaché of the American Embassy in Rome. Toward the end of the course some of the students prepared and gave lectures on Roman Housing, Roman Marbles, Horace's Sabine Farm, Roman Theaters, Aqueducts and the Public Water Supply, etc.

Among the memorable all-day excursions by bus were the trips to Monte Albano, where we climbed the Via Triumphalis (did we really find the temple of Diana?) and waded in Lake Nemi, and the tour on foot of the vast, impressive excavations at Ostia, now considered the most authentic source of information regarding *mores* in nearby Rome. But most delightful of all was the day we travelled to Hadrian's Villa, examined the intriguing ruins there, which spurred one's imagination, and then rode on to Horace's Sabine Farm. Here the caretaker led us up a steep, winding path through a tangled garden to find the famous spring. After a cool drink



Seaman

CLASS LEAVING THE AMERICAN ACADEMY ON A FIELD TRIP FOR THE DAY, PROFESSOR ROWELL IN THE VAN.

we ate our lunch, seated on the ground in the shade near the site of Horace's villa. Then Professor Rowell recited his favorite sections from the amiable Horace, and suddenly we found ourselves back in another age, wishing this were an hour which would never end. On the way home we visited the Villa d'Este, with its thousand fountains, and enjoyed a plunge in the sulphur pool at Tivoli.

On week-ends, dressed in cool cottons and sturdy American shoes, we tramped all over Rome, visiting the many world-famous churches, museums, and gardens. We were also privileged to attend two canonizations in St. Peter's Cathedral, and a special audience with the Pope was held for women.

While the stores of Rome are not stocked as lavishly as in pre-war days, shopping proved a most fascinating pastime. Those interested in leather goods, pure silk, silver, and *objets d'art* had a wide choice. Wandering along the Via Nazionale or the Via Veneto, the observant shopper frequently discovered a unique gift, and, browsing in the numerous book stores, he found many unexpected treasures. But no matter how many different restaurants were tried, the consensus declared that the Academy had the best food in Rome. Since coffee, sugar, milk, meat and butter are practically unobtainable now, each one of us had been asked to bring sugar, coffee, jello, etc. With this augmented food, the culinary artists at the Academy were able to provide an excellent menu.

Open air symphony concerts in La Sapienza and in the ruins of the Theatre of Maxentius, *carrozza* rides, gay parties at Giovanni's and on the roof of the Academy, delightful impromptu musical entertainments by those attending the Summer Session in Musicology at the Academy, all combined to furnish many pleasant evenings. The open-air operas, given in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, presented on a vast stage with an enormous cast of well-known Italian singers, accompanied by a 125-piece orchestra, with wonderful lighting effects and real elephants and horses among the properties, were magnificent spectacles. Besides enjoying the music, one was enabled to observe the modern

Roman listening to the opera he loves so well.

The six weeks passed all too rapidly, and soon it was August fifteenth, a day of general celebration throughout Italy, and graduation day for nineteen of us. Brief ceremonies were held, with Professor Rowell and Mr. Roberts giving appropriate speeches, and we were presented with our diplomas. The *Rome Daily American* carried the story. In the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Roberts entertained with a lovely tea party in the gardens of the sumptuous Villa Aurelia, which is being redecorated for their occupancy.

But there had to be a flaw some place in this summer idyl. One day we learned that the westbound sailing most of us had planned to take had been postponed. A flurry of trips to the steamship office and to the American Consulate ensued. At the consulate we were chagrined to learn that educators are in the lowest priority, which is H. Many wise-cracks resulted from this information. Of necessity we were separated; some went to England to return on one of the *Queens*, some went to Scotland to visit relatives, several were privileged to enjoy a week or two in the grandeur of the Swiss Alps, others were successful in obtaining plane reservations, and the rest returned aboard the *Saturnia*, *Vulcania*, or one of the Marine ships.

Fourteen of us spent a week in Naples with Mrs. Mary Raiola, secretary of the Vergilian School of Classical Studies at Naples. Due to her courteous planning, we were able to visit the tomb of Vergil, the vast theatre, the cave of the Cumaean Sibyl, the Phlegrean Fields, and the renowned excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Then we took a bus tour which included the Greek temples at Paestum, the American Cemetery at Salerno, where we placed an enormous wreath, the thrilling Amalfi Drive and lunch at Amalfi, and an overnight stop at beautiful Sorrento. The next day we went by private launch to the Isle of Capri. This eventful day included a climb to the ruins of the villa of the Emperor Tiberius, a reception in our honor by the Mayor of Capri, and a ride to Anacapri, where we were graciously entertained in the spacious and lovely villa of Professor Maiuri. On all these

trips from Naples we were accompanied and instructed by Prof. Amadeo Maiuri, President of the Vergilian Society and Director of the world-renowned National Museum of Naples, and by his able assistant, Miss Elia.

In addition to the many happy memories and sights of beautiful Italy, which shall always remain in our minds, is the poignant memory of the dark-haired, laughing children. As an English physician, a nutrition expert, pointed out one day, while we sat at a sidewalk café, greeting and admiring the sweet youngsters who passed, a very high percentage of them have rickets. Their diet of spaghetti and fruit makes them appear plump, but does not produce sturdy bones.

No more pleasant and profitable vacation

could be imagined than a summer in Italy. First-hand observation and study of the relics of the past should give us keener insight to interpret the problems of the present. Everywhere we were welcomed by the bravely smiling Italians, who often sing for a supper which does not come. Knowing them, living with them, we now understand and like them better.

When the announcement about the summer session of 1948 comes, most of us will suffer from an acute attack of genuine envy. Complicating this will be the bittersweet pangs of nostalgia for the beloved friends who accompanied us and for the leader we followed daily in our quest for information regarding one of the world's great civilizations.

—Liber Animalium

PORCUS

BELLO PROXIMO miles Americanus, multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus, desiderio miserabili pernae ovorumque dies noctesque affici solebat, neque falsum evasit poetae nobilissimi dictum "sunt lacrimae rerum." Ut res nunc se habet, ita antiquitus. Bene quidem poeta Anglicus quaerit "Qua carne hic noster Caesar vescitur qui vir tam magnus exstiterit?" Cui roganti, si respondendum est, porcina vesci eum confidenter dicemus, quod Romani ante omnes eam carnem malebant. Summa quidem cum veritate declarari potest illud imperium tam firmum tam diuturnum perna cum pane conditum esse. Legiones autem Caesarianae, cum porcina Gallica praestantissima haberetur, haud dubie non ventre inani sed vel perna vel lardo repleto itinera magna faciebant. Stultus quidem est sus sed caro eius nobilissima.

Mirum est quam late porcus in cultu literisque Romanis pateat. Nullo animali deis saepius fiebat sacrificium. Mensis Aprilis, qui Veneris ad honorem praecipue celebrabatur, nomen cepit ab apro, qui est sus ferus. Aeneae, illi Veneris filio dilecto, si Vergilio poetae creditur, deus suem cum triginta fetibus in somnio praestitit; neque facile dubitari potest, quod temporibus Ciceronianis ad Lavinium oppidum in templo isti triginta porcelli viatoribus ostendebantur aqua salsa conservati. Sed non modo dei sed Romani etiam sues magni faciebant, neque pudebat viros nobiles ab iis nomen ducere: videlicet Cato, vir clarissimus, Porcius nomine erat, quod est Anglice Hogg. Saepe etiam puella tenera Romana Porcella nominabatur, quod est Piggy. Num tantam ad humanitatem sine suis pervenissemus?

ANON.

In our April issue—

"MAN: THE MEASURE OF THE CLASSICS"

By Clyde Murley

FAVORITE TEACHING TECHNIQUES

Ortha L. Wilner
Milwaukee State Teachers College

VOCABULARY

VOCABULARY is the *sine qua non* of any foreign language. You can get the meaning fairly well without too much syntax, you can even get a good deal of the meaning without too sure a control of the inflections; but without words you are lost. A foreign language is, after all, nothing but words used in characteristic ways. In teaching a language, therefore, we are justified—rather we are obligated—to make use of any and every means to enlarge vocabulary.

Nothing can take the place of introducing words in a literary context and helping students to understand them accurately and easily when they first meet them. I read the Latin aloud by thought units and call for ensemble responses that tell the meaning of the units, calling attention to grammatical relationships in the process; and then I require a class to prepare the selection carefully at home. Thus the new words are presented and studied in a context.

Neither can anything take the place of repeated experiences with the same words. Therefore much reading of interesting stories containing the same words in their many inflected forms is essential.

But that is not enough, either. Old-fashioned word lists, memorized and drilled, help to reduce the need for thumbing the dictionary. Frequent quick vocabulary tests of new and old words, word games, flash cards, spell downs, etc. are used. And in such devices words are presented in all their varied inflectional forms, and students are taught formulae for quick translation of cases, moods, tenses, etc., and are drilled on characteristic signs by which forms are to be recognized; e.g., *ducetur*: "e" for the future, "tur" for the passive = "he will be led"; *si ducamus*: "a" for the present subjunctive = "if we should lead."

And even that is not enough; for a prime objective of Latin teaching is to increase English as well as Latin word power. Whenever a new word is met, its association with English derivatives, if there are such, helps to establish quick recall of its meaning; identification of its formative elements in Latin establishes its association with and differentiation from other Latin words, until students can multiply their known vocabulary words instead of adding to them. For instance, *discedo* is learned as "depart," and associated with English "proceed" and "recede," and "disappear" and "distribute," and with Latin *recedo*, *recessus*, *procedo*, *excedo*, *accedo*, etc. By the time the same procedure has been applied to *mitto*, *facio*, *fero*, *duco*, and many other words, students are able to recognize easily without specially learning them a large number of compounds and derivatives from simple words already learned. All this, done parenthetically in introducing new words, and repeated patiently over and over, meets four objectives, or maybe five: English vocabulary, Latin vocabulary, principles of language growth, the habit of learning the new by associating it with the old and known, and I hope acquaintance with much miscellaneous material from Roman history and society that may be correlated with contemporary life.

It takes patience and unlimited repetition; but after all, language is words, and language is the skeleton key to understanding life.

READING

The teaching of any foreign language is necessarily the teaching of ideas expressed in the foreign tongue. The ideas prevalent in the Latin authors commonly taught in the schools are more mature and farther removed

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

Public Relations

ONE OF THE most active prejudices in professional circles generally is directed against journalism and journalists. Newspaper reporters are trained to think in terms of headlines and to look for the big story; and when the big story is presented out of context and thereby distorted, the specialist or scholar is likely to be sore annoyed. Not infrequently the misrepresentation or premature publication of a discovery may do the individual specialist and his field of research actual damage, as in the case of medical developments when further work may be hampered and false hopes aroused in the minds of the suffering public. Conversely, within professional circles themselves, the colleague who does get his name in the papers, or who gains fame or notoriety, as the case may be, is regarded with suspicion—and, one suspects, with considerable jealousy.

The matter of journalism, however, cannot be disposed of so simply. As in the case of magic, white and black, there is good journalism and bad journalism. The same statement holds good in the parallel fields of public relations, advertising, and propaganda, where it is an axiom that manipulations of opinion should not be recognized as such by the public generally or by that section of it which is to be influenced. One of the classic examples in the field of public relations is that of the Rockefeller family—transformed from robber-barons in the muck-raking period to saintly humanitarians a generation later through the ministrations of the public relations counsel, Ivy Lee.

It is unfortunate, therefore, in our own immediate field of endeavor that the terms "publicity" and "public relations" evoke all sorts of preposterous images, the counterpart of cheesecake art, flag-pole sitting, baby-kissing, and being elected honorary chief of

the Grasshopper Indians. Good public relations in our field must satisfy the criteria of good public relations everywhere: they must be carefully and realistically designed to bring the public *en rapport* with our aims and activities, and the methods used must be unobtrusive and unnoticed. These standards for the conduct of public relations necessarily rule out the headline, the scoop, and the dazzling coup that are customarily associated with the art. We have been weakened in the past by a process of steady erosion; our strength in the future will depend upon pressure slowly and steadily exerted at many points.

Since Classicists, as teachers, are in constant contact with the public but have steadily been losing this contact for the past half-century and more, the possibility is worth considering that something is wrong with our public relations. High school teachers have been doing a magnificent job with the program and the materials with which they have had to work; the deficiency would seem to be on the upper level among those in the college departments whose function it must necessarily be to provide leadership on a national scale. Yet it is among scholars that the prejudice against public relations is particularly violent—unfortunately so, since the hierarchy of education is such that the scholar is in the only position from which leadership may be exercised; and if he does not choose to lead, his position still gives him almost unlimited powers of obstruction.

Journalism and Rhetoric

CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, a large part of the materials with which the Classical scholar deals is in the area of public relations, although the older term is "rhetoric"—essentially the use of words to influence the hearer or reader in a given direction, emotionally or rationally.

Surely the most curious contradiction in the Classical field today is that the scholar, who spends his life dealing with rhetorical materials, so sedulously avoids that which is the objective of rhetoric. As a scholar, to be sure, in the privacy of his study, he must maintain the attitudes of science; but in the classroom and in the lecture-hall, all the arts of rhetoric, of journalism and public relations, are in order.

One may pause to note that Plato, who, under the influence of Romanticism, has replaced Cicero as the representative Classical author, and who has done so much to confirm the concept of objective reality in scholarship, was one of the supreme rhetoricians of history. The beguiling use of the dialogue form deceives the reader into believing that he is listening to a round-table discussion, as it were, in which the truth gradually emerges through "democratic" dialectic. The reader does not stop to reflect that the script for the round-table was written in advance. One may call this art; one suspects, however, that those of other persuasion in ancient times (the Epicureans, for example) may have considered it trickery. And suppose Protagoras had been the supreme master of prose, and Plato had been somewhat awkward as a writer—how different might have been the intellectual history of Europe!

Wherein, then, lies the direction of leadership in the Classical field today? Surely in the re-establishment of the civic context, the public relation, which the Classics enjoyed in the era of the Classical Republicans in England and America—the context that makes certain sections of Polybius and Cicero as surely documents of American political history as the Declaration of Independence. Not that we can go back to the eighteenth century; but perhaps we may examine the great issues of the day, think our way through to basic premises again, and strengthen what is good and fight what is false by recourse to the great radical premises of Classical antiquity. And possibly the basic premise, as Ernest Barker puts it, is that Greek philosophy was written in the imperative mood.

The context in which the documents of

Classical antiquity are now taught is totally lacking in imperatives; the approach is basically Romantic. On the one hand, scholarship tends to gratify the individual's personal curiosity or to advance his professional interests; on the other, our approach, as teachers in the general area of the "Humanities," is personal rather than public—an appeal "to the sentimental intimacy of the individual man," or, as George Boas puts it, descended from Keats via Tennyson.

Where are our imperatives? If we find them, we shall be the first group in the area of general or liberal education to stand on a firm basis, for at present it is only in the vocational and professional fields that one finds a *must* in the program of study. In the absence of imperatives, our teaching may have enthusiasm, but it will surely be lacking in convictions; and education without convictions is not likely to be convincing.

The Suffering Editor

THE MELANCHOLY DAYS are here again—the days when we teachers, Janus-like, look back and ahead, seeing nothing much to get excited about. September is forgotten; June is too remote for anticipation; and we have just discovered that Back-Row Benny thinks he has to use a first conjugation verb when a first declension noun is the subject. The March hare has nothing on the March school-teacher.

But it is as Editor and Business Manager that we wish principally to speak here, by way of inviting our readers to step into the office and feel sorry for us for a while. This is the slack season, so far as the business end of things is concerned—a good time to settle back and repair the nervous system. We had a pretty bad time last fall; and if you were one of those whose October and November issues of *CJ* were delayed, we should like to tell you about it now.

The trouble is that the handling of subscriptions to *CJ* (or any other magazine) is a rather complicated business, requiring, above all, filing techniques carried to the highest degree of accuracy. It calls for the best secre-

tial help, the kind that is both hard to get and expensive. Now our problem is that most of our subscriptions pour in during the month of October—and at that time require somewhat more than the full-time services of one highly-trained person. Yet in March there is scarcely enough to keep the same person busy two afternoons a week. And the work that has to be done, as we have indicated, is such that we can't just go out and hire a good office-helper when we need one; and assuming that one were available, it still takes quite a few weeks to break a new one in. In addition to the three-way filing system which has to be mastered along with the Addressograph and Graphotype machines, historical evolution has created in our field of classical organizations a system of fiendish complexity. The process of induction into this system is likely to cause a neophyte to break down and laugh hysterically.

You will understand what we mean, perhaps, if we reproduce a memo which our present very capable assistant wrote to herself one Monday morning last fall:

Bill Nov. ads
Send Jan. ads
Send Dec. ad proofs
Do ACL list
Do CAAS list
Do CAMWS list
Run supplementary
File back supplementary stencils
Run Dec. mailing list
Add new subs. to active list
Cancel requested Dec. subs.
File file cards
Bill Oct. reprints
Get 3¢ stamps

Answer accumulated correspond.
Mk out chks for bills in BPO file
Get back copy order fm. strm.
Phone Joan¹
Drop dead²

Now this magazine is in every sense of the word a co-operative venture. It pays no cash dividends or profits to the publishers or to anyone else; only its readers profit, because all surpluses are turned back into the business. Accordingly, every economy that we can effect, every easement of the load, is to the advantage of the individual reader. And on this basis we ask all of our readers to help us to distribute our office load more evenly.

Please, if you possibly can, see that your subscription or membership dues are sent in to your regional secretary in the course of the spring and summer. Our friends in the New England states have been doing this for a number of years, and we love them for it. This year our Middle West and South readers are being asked to do the same. If we can process the bulk of our subscriptions during the late spring and the early summer, when there is no rush to get things in order for the next mailing list—and thereby reduce the peak in October, we shall be able to render much better service to our readers, and we may be able to work out a plan for keeping a good assistant on a steady part-time basis, thus transferring some funds from office expenses to printing and avoiding the atmosphere of hysteria which usually invades the premises in the autumn months.

Perbenigne feceris!

¹ Not regular office routine.

² Regular office routine.

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

A gala Latin Institute will be held under the auspices of the American Classical League at Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, on June 17, 18, 19, 1948. This will be the first national meeting of the League for some years; and the season and the place and the occasion should guarantee a gathering of exceptional interest. Further details will be published in the Classical Outlook, and in CJ as available.

"FAVORITE TEACHING TECHNIQUES"

(Continued from Page 366)

from the ordinary experiences of our students than are those prevalent in modern language texts, at least in the elementary years. This in itself constitutes one eminently desirable—howbeit difficult—factor in studying Latin, since it serves to develop mental maturity and broaden mental horizons. But this in itself constitutes one of the graver risks or challenges in the teaching of Latin. It is all too easy for our students to read *words* without fully assimilating the ideas they represent.

To meet this hazard, it is useful *never* to begin or end a passage simply by reading it. Always I begin a class with some discussion of the ideas that were met in the last material read, and with some application of those ideas to the present day and if possible to the experiences of the students. And always I end a class hour with a similar discussion of the ideas they have just read. Although this procedure takes time and may reduce the amount of material read, it is, I believe, necessary, in order to attain the educational goals of the teaching of Latin or of any other foreign language; and to read much is of no value unless the much is read meaningfully: *multa legere nil est nisi bene legas*.

PARTICIPLES

Participles need offer little difficulty, but they should be introduced into the reading early and naturally. The first ones should appear as adjectives—*puer currens*, *femina nupta*—and learned as words that agree with their nouns. Our students think concretely, not abstractly, until we have taught them the harder process.

As soon as principal parts are introduced, I teach them the formula "having been—" as the meaning of the perfect participle, with the alternative "being about to be—" associated with the characteristic sign *ur* for the future participles of intransitive verbs. I frankly drill my class on principal parts, always with the appropriate translation associated with each part.

After that there is no trouble when longer

participial phrases appear with attendant modifiers. A routine set of questions is asked regularly until participles are well learned: What do you recognize in this word? Is it the fourth principal part? Has it the characteristic *nt* of the present participle? or the *ur* of the future participle? Is it, then, active or passive? What case is it? Then what word does it go with or modify? Then what does it mean? Now can you say what the passage means as you would be likely to say it to your friend? The fixed order and wording of the questions is always followed until students learn to make the right observations and draw the right conclusions; and the last step—saying it in natural English—is never omitted, but is often followed by a postpositive question: And what do you think about that idea?

ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE

We are often too much afraid of grammar because we are conscious that grammar is only a means by which to get the meaning of a passage, not an end in itself. But it is a means to get at the meaning—in Latin, an essential means, because of the highly inflected structure of Latin. The problem is so to teach grammar as to make it function readily in understanding the ideas of the printed page or spoken sentence.

In approaching the ablative absolute, therefore, I read with the class a Latin story in which the construction appears, reading for the sake of the story. The ideas are interpreted—translated if you wish—in order as they appear. The first ablative absolute should consist of well-known words, e.g. *muro aedificato*. Since the participle is a form already learned, the new phrase readily suggests its own meaning and the story is completed. My students from the first meet many phrases to which they cannot attach grammatical nomenclature and are not afraid of them.

Immediately after the story is finished, as a result of class questions if they are asked, I call attention to the phrase and what it consists of and give the construction a name for

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NOTES

The Use of Rue as a Spice By the Greeks and Romans

Alfred C. Andrews
University of Miami

BECAUSE of the pungent smell of its leaves, rue is distasteful to most Americans; but it is used to a limited extent by people who like bitter flavors, not only in culinary preparations, but also in beverages. But tastes, like fashions, vary according to time and place and climate. In some respects the likes and dislikes of the Greeks and the Romans with regard to foods and spices parallel ours closely; in some they are divergent. Sometimes, too, we find the Greeks and the Romans in sharp disagreement with each other. With this in mind, it may be of some interest to explore the use of rue in the classical period, for what we learn in the course of such an inquiry will shed just a little more light on the predilections of the Greeks and the Romans and will add, if only slightly, to our appreciation and understanding of them as ordinary human beings, with food preferences that sometimes match ours, sometimes conflict with them. This particular topic has received very little attention. In fact, the only article of any length on rue in the classical period is one by Stadler in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll.¹ The present article is more comprehensive, especially with regard to condimentary uses.

Common rue, *Ruta graveolens* L., also called herb of grace, grows wild in both Greece and Italy.² This is the plant usually denoted by Greek *πήγανον*³ and Latin *ruta*,⁴ although these names in a broad sense included allied species. Thus Theophrastus, describing rue as a typical undershrub⁵ with thin, fleshy leaves⁶ that tends to become tree-like under cultivation,⁷ says that there is

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

only one kind,⁸ but speaks of a wild form.⁹ Dioscorides¹⁰ similarly refers to both cultivated and wild forms of rue, calling the wild form inedible. The plant thrives best when set out close to (or grafted on) fig trees.¹¹

There is almost no direct evidence that rue was much used in ancient Greece. It is casually mentioned as a seasoning by Alexis of Thuri, a poet of the Middle Comedy.¹² Diocles, an eminent physician of the middle fourth century B.C., says that the best rue was grown in Myra in Lycia¹³ and recommends the use of green, unground rue as a seasoning.¹⁴ Except for technical remarks on the properties of rue by other physicians, discussed later in this article, this is the sum total of direct testimony to the use of rue as a seasoning in ancient Greece. The frequent appearance of this condiment in the recipes of Apicius, commented on below, suggests that rue was in more general use than this meagre evidence indicates, since there is marked evidence of Greek influence in his cookbook; but it is hard to believe that this seasoning, if it had been at all popular among the Greeks, could have escaped conspicuous notice in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus. It is best, therefore, to conclude that in ancient Greece rue played a very minor role as a condiment. This is equally true today in Greece, where it is only rarely raised in gardens.¹⁵

But in Italy rue was much cultivated in the classical period¹⁶ and enjoyed some popularity even in the republican period, according to Pliny,¹⁷ who says that Cornelius Cethegus at the end of the elections in the consulship of Quintus Flaminius (198 B.C.) distributed to the populace honeyed wine spiced with rue. In general, rue was used by the Romans for much the same purposes as we use parsley. Bunches of it were often pickled in brine for later use.¹⁸ Eggs and rue were often used as a garnish for salt tunny or mackerel,¹⁹ and Capellian sweetmeats were

deftly wrapped in a leaf of rue.²⁰ The herb was also used in salads²¹ and as a condiment in pickling olives.²² The acerbity of rue was so notorious that Cicero made his reaction transparently clear when he remarked of an impending visit of Lepta, "Rue is coming."²³

In view of the pungency of rue, it is no surprise on turning to the recipes of Apicius to find caution enjoined in using it as a condiment²⁴ and that it was often employed in the form of a *bouquet garni* during the cooking,²⁵ a sprig sometimes being used merely to stir a sauce, after which it was discarded.²⁶ It is prudent to assume that in his recipes rue was meant to be used invariably with moderation, even when this is not specifically recommended. The herb was used in two forms, green and dried, but in either case was almost always ground or crushed; and the seeds or berries were often also employed in the same manner. In general, Apicius used the leaves or seeds either as a seasoning in the preparation of dishes or in sauces that were added to them, especially in sauces for meat,²⁷ fowl,²⁸ and fish.²⁹

In the case of the Romans, accordingly, the evidence is clear and explicit that rue was a cultivated plant of some importance and that it was extensively used as a condiment, but generally with delicacy and discretion. The favor which this herb enjoyed in ancient Italy reflects a taste in sharp conflict with that of the Greeks and ours. There are many striking examples of survivals of food tastes in the classical lands, but this is not one, for rue is held in no particular esteem in Italy today.

The physicians often refer to rue, generally not too approvingly. According to Hippocrates,³⁰ it has a certain congealing property and passes better by urine than by stool. If it is taken beforehand in a potion, it serves as a prophylactic against poisons.³¹ Aristotle avers that rue gives the perspiration a foul odor.³² He also says that rue because of its heating property dispels flatulence when eaten before other foods.³³ Celsus³⁴ considered it of bad juice, sharp, diuretic, excitative, purgative, and emollient. But Pliny³⁵ deemed it one of the best medicinal herbs. In the late period,

Simeon Seth³⁶ says that cultivated rue, while less heating and drying than the wild form, forms thick, viscous humours and is diuretic; and Hierophilus³⁷ characterizes it as heating and drying.

The effects of the opinions of prominent physicians upon the diet of the general population in ancient times were probably negligible. In the case of rue, the adverse views of such an author as Celsus did not deter the Romans from using the herb to spice all kinds of foods and drinks, although generally in moderation.

NOTES

¹ *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Second Series, I, 296-300.

² Cf. H. O. Lenz, *Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer* (Gotha, 1899) 671; Filippo Parlatore, *Flora italiana* (Firenze, 1848-1894) v, 349. According to E. de Halácsy (*Conspectus florum graecae*, [Leipzig, 1901-1904] I, 311; cf. *Supplementum secundum* [Budapest, 1912] 23), var. *divaricata* Ten. is much more common in Greece than the basic species, and Eugenio Baroni (*Guida botanica d'Italia*, 2nd ed. [Bologna, 1932] 86) and Adriano Fiori (*Nuova flora analitica d'Italia* [Firenze, 1925-1929] II, 150) imply the same is true of Italy. Theodor von Heldreich (*Die Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands* [Athena, 1862] 63) says that *Ruta chalepensis* L. is more common on the islands (cf. Halácsy, loc. cit.) and var. *divaricata* on dry hills of the mainland. *Ruta chalepensis* L., which is native in the Mediterranean region (cf. M. Rikli and E. Rübel, "Über Flora und Vegetation von Kreta und Griechenland," *Vierteljahrsschrift der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, 68 [1923] 128) is represented in Greece by three varieties in addition to the basic species (cf. Halácsy, loc. cit.).

³ This word is probably a formation based on *pag- similar to Latin *pagina* from the same root, in the sense of "fixt fast" or "unite," and is cognate with Greek *πάγνυμι*, as Plutarch correctly observes (*quaest. conv.* 3.1.3), although he erroneously takes the allusion to be to the potency of the plant. Cf. esp. Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., (Heidelberg, 1910) 553. Note Modern Greek *pegani*, *pegania*, *peganon*, and *apeganos*; Old Russian *piganu*; and *pigano* and *pujano* in the province of Bova in Italy (cf. Gerhard Rohlfs, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität* [Halle, 1930] no. 1683). The tendency to apply the name to allied species is still evident today. Theodor von Heldreich (*Τὰ δημώδη ἐνθάδε τῶν φντῶν* [Athena, 1910] 19) calls attention to *agriopeganos* (Fraas) and *pegani* (Sibthorp) as terms for *Ruta montana* L. and *apeganos* (Sibthorp) and *pegano* (Ceryca) for *Ruta chalepensis* L., in addition to *peganos*, *apiganos* (usually), *pegani* (Sibthorp), *pegani* and *pegounia* in Cephalonia (Fraas), and *peganto* (Cestoration: in Epirus) for *Ruta graveolens* L.

¹ Synonymous with and probably a borrowing of the infrequent Greek *ρῦρη* (Nicand. alex. 306, 607) and the source of Italian *ruta*, *ruda*, and *ruga*; French *rue*; German *Raute* (OHG *ruta*); and Anglo-Saxon *rude* (cf. T. G. Tucker, *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of Latin* [Halle, 1931] 210; Otto Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., 1917, II, 217). The Italian names are applied to the various species without much distinction (cf. Otto A. J. Penzig, *Flora popolare italiana* [Geneva, 1924] I, 426-427).

² H.P. 1.3.1.

³ Id. 1.10.4.

⁴ Id. 1.3.4.

⁵ Id. 7.4.1.

⁶ Id. 7.6.1.

⁷ 3.45. Daubeney (in Gunther's ed., 665) refers the wild form to *Peganum harmala* L. and the mountain form to *Ruta montana* L.

⁸ Diosc. loc. cit. Dioscorides seems to say that the cultivated kind best suited for eating was that which grew close to fig trees, but the interpretation here is uncertain, and it is therefore impossible to put much credence in Pliny's statement (N.H. 19.156) that rue nowhere prospered more than under fig trees, since he may merely have garbled Dioscorides' account. Elsewhere we find specific references to grafting rue on fig trees (Theophr. C.P. 5.6.10; Aristot. Probl. 20.18) and to putting the seeds in figs before they were sowed (Theophr. C.P. 5.7.10).

⁹ Apud Athen. 4.170.b.

¹⁰ Id. 2.59.a.

¹¹ Apud Oribas. Coll. Med. 4.3.5.

¹² Cf. Theodor von Heldreich, *Die Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands*, (Athens, 1862) 63.

¹³ Cf. Plin. N.H. 19.156; Colum. 11.3.16, 38; Pallad. 4.9.13; Geopon. 12.25.1.

¹⁴ N.H. 19.156.

¹⁵ Cf. Plin. loc. cit.; Colum. 12.7.5.

¹⁶ Cf. Mart. 10.48.11; 11.52.8.

¹⁷ Id. 11.31.17.

¹⁸ Moret. 89.

¹⁹ Cf. Cato Agric. 119; Pallad. 12.22.5.

²⁰ Fam. 9.23.2. In this connection, one may note the slang expression "to throw into a rue leaf" (in *rutae folium conicere*) current in the first century A.D. (cf. Petron. 38 and 58), probably roughly equivalent to our idiom "to knock into a cocked hat."

²¹ Cf. 3.67; 4.132; 6.289.

²² Cf. 6.295.

²³ Cf. 8.334.

²⁴ 6.281; 8.338, 339, 347, 349, 350, 351, 353, 368, 371, 376, 382, 384, 394, 395, 400, 404; 8.405, 406.

²⁵ 6.213, 222, 225, 234, 237, 242, 257.

²⁶ 4.152, 154, 157; 8.413, 414, 415, 417, 432, 435, 437, 438, 439, 440; 10.445, 455, 456, 464, 467, 468, 471, 473, 476, 478.

²⁷ Diet. 2.54.

²⁸ Cf. Athen. 3.85.b; Galen. 6.610, 793; Sim. Seth p. 82.6 Langk.

²⁹ Problem. 867 b 8 and 926 b 16; cf. Theophr. de sud. 10.

³⁰ Id. 926 b 28.

³¹ 2.21, 22, 31, 32; 5.5, 15.

³² N.H. 21.131. Note Priap. 51.21: *salsubribus rutis*.

³³ P. 81 Langk.

³⁴ Nutr. meth. 7.4 in Ideler, *Phys. et med. gr. min.*, I, 415.

"FAVORITE TEACHING TECHNIQUES"

(Continued from Page 370)

convenience in referring to it. It is explained as a natural and easy type of phrase, usually a participle agreeing with a noun, put in the ablative because it has no other use in the sentence. Since understanding is greatly facilitated if students learn formulae of translation as a first step in getting the meaning, I suggest formulae beginning with "as" or "when" for perfect participles and "while" for present participles. Then I put six or eight simple illustrations on the board for immediate practice, followed by six or eight more complicated sentences. They are translated orally in chorus.

Then for several weeks material is read that contains numerous instances of the construction. Regularly when it appears in the stories, I ask a routine set of questions: What case is, or may be,—(the noun)? What form do you recognize in—(the participle)? What tense is it? Is it then active or passive? What case is it? What then does it agree with? What construction do you recognize? What words shall we begin with? Gradually after considerable practice the questions are omitted until only the last two are asked, although on any given occasion the whole series may be necessary. In a few weeks the construction loses all mystery and becomes a favorite friend, or to change the figure, a jet-propulsion engine speeding the story onward.

Check List of Recent Books

Compiled by Lionel Casson and George A. Yanitelli, and including books received at the Editorial Office.

I. ANCIENT AUTHORS

- Apuleius. The Golden Ass. 360 pages, ill. Navarre Society, London 1947 12s 6d
Aristotle. De insomniis et de divinatione per somnum. A new edition of the Greek text with the Latin translation by H. J. Drossaart Lulofs. Preface and Greek text, lxxviii+24; translations, index verborum, iv+70 pages. Brill, Leiden 1947 (Philosophia antiqua, vol. 2) 7.50 guilders
Epicurus. Fragmenta. Hrg. von Jakob von Haringer. iv+96 pages. Classen, Zürich 1947 4.90 Swiss fr
Plato. H. Groot. Plato en zijn betekenis voor onze tijd. xii+277 pages. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam 1947 5.90 guilders

3. LINGUISTICS, GRAMMAR, METRICS

- Bizos, M. Syntaxe grecque. iv+271 pages. Vuibert, Paris 1947 650 fr

4. HISTORY, SOCIAL STUDIES

- BURN, A. R. Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Empire. 297 pages. Hodder and Stoughton, London 1947 5s
ELBÉE, JEAN d'. Constantin le Grand. 232 pages. Juilliard-Sequana, Paris 1947 160 fr
FESTUGIÈRE, A. J. Liberté et civilisation chez les Grecs. 128 pages. La revue des jeunes, Paris 1947 80 fr
JORDAN, CHARLES. César et Attila en Gaule. 175 pages. Aux trois Magots, Paris 1947 150 fr
LEVY-BRUHL, HENRI. Deux études: Addicere et Auctoritas. 44 pages. Recueil Sirey, Paris (Annales de l'Université de Lyon) 1947 30 fr
MONIER, RAYMOND. Manuel élémentaire de droit romain, Vol. 1. 550 pages. Domat-Montchrétien, Paris 1947 630 fr
RAPHAEL, MAXWELL ISAAC. Prehistoric Pottery and Civilisation in Egypt. Translated by Norbert Guterman. 196 pages, ill. Pantheon, New York 1947 \$7.50
SUGRANYES DE FRANCH, RAMON. Études sur le droit paléstinien à l'époque évangélique. 140 pages. Librairie universitaire de France, Paris 1947 240 fr
TIECHE. Festschrift für Eduard Tieche zum 70. Geburtstage am 21. März 1947. xvi+192, 1 pl. Lang, Bern 1947 (order from A. Phiebig, 545 5th Avenue, New York City Price \$6.60)
WINLOCK, H. E. The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes. 174 pages, ill. Macmillan, London 1947 30s

5. PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY

- ARMSTRONG, A. H. An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy. 241 pages. Methuen, London 1947 15s
Barrett, C. K. The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition. 184 pages. Macmillan, New York 1947 \$4.50
BOLKESTEIN, H. Vier hoofdstukken over de godsdienst in het leven der Grieken gedurende hun bloeitijd. 130 pages. Tjeenk, Willink & Zoon, Haarlem 1947 4.25 guilders
BROWN, NORMAN O. Hermes, the Thief: The Evolution of a Myth. viii+164 pages. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1947 \$3.00
CONTENAU, G. La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens. III. Payot, Paris 1947 (Bibliothèque historique) 300 fr
GOODSPEED, EDGAR JOHNSON. Paul. 255 pages, map. Winston, Philadelphia 1947 \$2.50
JAEGER, WERNER. The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers. 259 pages. Oxford University Press, London 1947 15s
JONES, CHARLES W. Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England. 245 pages, ill. Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1947 \$3.00

6. ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY

- ANNALES de l'Institut d'études orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. 200 pages. Larose, Paris 1947 250 fr
BAUR, PAUL, V. C. Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report 4, Part 3: The Lamps. 106 pages, ill. Yale University Press, New Haven 1947 \$4.00
COLLART, PAUL. Paul Schazmann, archéologue suisse, 14 mars 1871—5 juin 1946. 33 pages. Rouge, Lausanne 1947 (Collection des études de lettres, 9) 2.50 Swiss fr
DELCOURT, MARIE. Les grands sanctuaires de la Grèce. 144 pages. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1947 90 fr
EDWARDS, I. E. S. The Pyramids of Egypt. 256 pages. Penguin Books, London 1947 1s
ESPERANDIEU, EMILE. Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine. T. 12°, suppléments (suite) par Raymond Lantier. 48 pages, 48 pls. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1947 500 fr
GRABAR, A. Cahiers-archéologiques, II. 180 pages, 24 figs., 28 pls. Van Oest, Paris 1947
LAPALUS, E. Le fronton sculpté en Grèce. 488 pages, 38 figs., 18 pls. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) 630 fr
LOOS-DIETZ, E. P. de. Vroeg-christelijke ivoren. Studie over de stijlontwikkeling op den overgang van de vierde naar de vijfde eeuw. 181 pages. Assen, Van Gorcum, Leiden 1947 7.50 guilders

7. EPIGRAPHY, NUMISMATICS, PAPYROLOGY, PALEOGRAPHY

- ROBERT, L. Hellenica, recueil d'épigraphie, de numis-

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FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE
WEST AND SOUTH

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, APRIL 1, 2, 3, 1948

CONVENTION CENTER: HOTEL PFISTER

(ALL MEETINGS FOR THE READING OF PAPERS IN ASSEMBLY HALL)

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 1

9:00 A.M., *Registration on the Seventh Floor.*

9:00 A.M., *Meeting of the Executive Committee, Secretary-Treasurer's Suite.*

THURSDAY, 10:00 A.M.

EDITH ATCHISON, *Shorewood High School, Milwaukee, Presiding.*

RUSSEL M. GEER, *Tulane University, New Orleans, "A Course in Classical Civilization" (15 minutes).*

E. L. HIGHBARGER, *Northwestern University, Evanston, "Athens, Delphi and Euripides' Ion."*

FRANCIS D. LAZENBY, *University of Illinois, Urbana, "Household Pets in the Literature and Art of Ancient Greece and Rome."*

REV. CLAUDE H. HEITHAUS, S. J., *Marquette University, Milwaukee, "Roman Interior Decoration" (Color Photographs).*

GRACE L. BEEDE, *University of South Dakota, Vermillion, "Sons of the Land."*

THEODORE BEDRICK, *University of Illinois, Urbana, "Trends in Greek Athletics as Reflected in Ancient Writers" (15 minutes).*

THURSDAY, 2:00 P.M.

GERALD F. ELSE, *University of Iowa, Iowa City, Presiding.*

MABEL K. WHITESIDE, *Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va., "Technique Used in Preparing Greek Plays (original) for the Stage."*

CLARENCE A. FORBES, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln, "Old Beer."*

WALTER ALLEN, JR., *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, "The Importance of Cicero's Social Career."*

WALTER R. AGARD, *University of Wisconsin, Madison, "Classical Mythology in Medieval Sculpture" (Illustrated).*

THURSDAY, 4:00 P.M.

The Committee on Educational Policies will meet in the North Colonial Room.

THURSDAY, 7:00 P.M.

CHARLOTTE LUDLUM, *First Vice-President CAMWS, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, Presiding.*

Address of Welcome, JOHN BOHN, Mayor of Milwaukee.

Welcome to Wisconsin (Centennial Celebration), JOHN N. CALLAHAN, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Madison.

Response for the Association, A. PELZER WAGENER, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Professor of Archaeology, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., "Classical Sites in Greece and Italy" (Illustrated in Technicolor). 1 hour.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 2

7:30 A.M. *The Mirror Room. State Vice-Presidents will meet for breakfast, Secretary WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, Presiding.*

FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

CLYDE MURLEY, *Northwestern University, Evanston, Presiding.*

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, "Seafaring Superstitions."*

PAUL L. MACKENDRICK, *University of Wisconsin, Madison, "Trimalchio."*

JOHN M. BRIDGHAM, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, "Etruria's Legacy to Rome."

RALPH MERRIAM, Chicago, "A Layman's Plato."

ORTHA L. WILNER, Milwaukee State Teachers College, "Some Comical Scenes from Plautus and Terence."

FRIDAY, 12:00 M.

Subscription Luncheon (\$1.75 per plate), MARS WESTINGTON, Hanover College, Presiding. Latin songs will be sung, led by Professor Westington; Mrs. Westington at the piano.

JOSEPH D. VEHLING, Milwaukee, "An Amateur Philologist Looks at Linguam Coquinariam."

Puppet Show, SIGMA PI RHO Chapter of Milwaukee State Teachers College.

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M.

B. L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Presiding.

W. C. SEYFERT, Principal, University Laboratory Schools, University of Chicago, "The Place of Latin in the High School Curriculum."

STEPHEN M. COREY, University of Chicago, "Language Students Learn What They Practice."

GERALD F. ELSE, University of Iowa: *First-year Latin*; GEORGE H. LUCAS, Bordentown Military Institute: *Vergilian Vocabulary*; DONALD G. BAKER, Ursinus College; ETHEL CHUBB, Philadelphia, Pa., *Vergilian Forms*; CLYDE MURLEY, Northwestern University: *First-year Latin*; R. C. STONE, Wheaton College: *Vergilian Constructions*; GRAYDON REGENOS, Tulane University: *Latin Words Unchanged or Slightly Changed in English*; CAROLYN BOCK, Northwestern State College: *Prefixes and Suffixes*; LENORE GEWEKE, Illinois State Normal University: *English Derivatives*.

HAROLD B. DUNKEL, University of Chicago, "Major Emphases of a High-School Latin Curriculum."

FRIDAY, 7:30 P.M.

Fern Room: Annual Subscription Banquet (\$3.00 per plate; formal dress optional).

B. L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina, Presiding.

Toast: "To the Latin Teacher," IRENE J. CRABB, Township High School, Evanston, Ill. (5 minutes).

Toast: "To the Greek Teacher," OSCAR NYBAKKEN, University of Iowa, Iowa City. (5 minutes).

Recognitions by the Toastmaster of: Milwaukee State Teachers College: HILARY MEINZER (2 minutes).

Mount Mary College: ELEANOR GROGAN (2 minutes).

Marquette University: SHIRLEY SHERWOOD (2 minutes).

Toast: "The Magister Operandi of a Classical Conference," REV. GEORGE E. GANSS, S.J. Marquette University (5 minutes).

Toast: "To Culture," BRUNO MEINEKE, University of Michigan (15 minutes).

Recognitions by the Toastmaster of: American Philological Association: JOHN HELLER, University of Minnesota.

Archaeological Institute of America: DAVID M. ROBINSON, Johns Hopkins University.

American Classical League: "Classical Cooperation," WALTER AGARD, University of Wisconsin.

Eta Sigma Phi: A. PELZER WAGENER, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Junior Classical League: FRANCIS D. LAZENBY, University of Illinois. (5 minutes each)

Orpheus and Eurydice: A Dance Interpretation by STUDENTS OF MOUNT MARY COLLEGE, Milwaukee.

Presidential Address: DORRANCE S. WHITE, University of Iowa, "The General Education Movement and the Classics."

SATURDAY, APRIL 3

9:00 A.M.

President DORRANCE S. WHITE, University of Iowa, Presiding.

HELEN CLIFFORD GUNTER, Wilmette, Illinois, "Visual Education in the Teaching of Latin." (Illustrated. 30 minutes).

RUBY M. HICKMAN, Chicago, "The New Look" (20 minutes).

10:00 A.M.

Business Session, Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting, PRESIDENT DORRANCE S. WHITE, Presiding.

COMMITTEES

RESOLUTIONS:

William E. Gwatkin, *Chairman*; Lillian Hadley, Mark E. Hutchinson, Ben J. Narveson, Oscar E. Nybakken, Jonah W. D. Skiles.

SEMPLE SCHOLARSHIP GRANT:

John B. Titchener, *Chairman*; Charles F. Murphy, George McCracken.

GREEK SCHOLARSHIP AWARD

Clyde Pharr, *Chairman*; Russell M. Geer, Warren E. Blake, William C. Korfmacher (*ex officio*).

NOMINATIONS:

James E. Dunlap, *Chairman*; Essie Hill, Robert L. Ladd, Esther Weightman, Hubert M. Poteat, Mrs. Bessie S. Rathbun.

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS:

Executive: Edith Atchison, Shorewood High School; Father George E. Ganss, S. J., Marquette University, *Chairman*; H. Gudwin Johnson, Washington High School; Ortha Wilner, Milwaukee State Teachers College.

Banquet: Dorothy Gardner, Rufus King High School; Mary Gaunt, Rufus King High School; Hulda Loye, Wauwatosa Senior High School; Mrs. Thomas MacKedon, North Division High School; Leone McDermott, South Division High School; Mrs. O. P. Schoofs, Bay View High School; Alfreda Stallman, Carroll College, Waukesha.

Educational Exhibits: Anna Marie Bachhuber, Nathan Hale High School, West Allis; Carolyn Hazel Handt, Washington High School; Father John Petrauskas, M.I.C.

Paraphernalia: Alice R. Riley, Bay View High School; Grace Schaefer, Pulaski High School.

Publicity: Edith Atchison, Shorewood High

School; Mrs. Lawrence E. Cochran; Martha A. Cook, South Milwaukee High School; C. A. Hardt, Concordia College; Donald King, Beloit College, Beloit; Clark G. Kuebler, Ripon College, Ripon; Viola G. Strunk, Walker Junior High; Miss B. Swett, Cudahy High School; Miss Marjorie Stevenson, Milwaukee University School.

Arrangements for Priests and Brothers: Rev. George E. Ganss, S.J., Marquette University; Rev. Edmund J. Goebel, Superintendent of Milwaukee Catholic Schools; Rev. Martin L. Jautz, St. Francis Minor Seminary; Rev. John J. Jolin, S.J., Marquette University; Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., Marquette University.

Arrangements for Sisters: Sister Mary Carolyn, O.S.F., St. Mary's Academy; Sister Mary Celina, B.V.M., Holy Angels Academy; Sister Mary Chrysostom, R.S.M., Mercy High School; Sister Mary Demetria, Sor. D.S., Divine Savior High School; Sister Mary Dorothea, S.S.N.D., Mount Mary College; Sister Mary Magdaleine, O.S.F., Cardinal Stritch College; Sister Mary Matilda, S.S.N.D., Messmer High School.

Welcoming Committee: Grace Fardy, Waukesha High School; Leone Fenzl, Oshkosh High School; Miss Ruby Hardiman, Whitefish Bay High School; H. Gudwin Johnson, Washington High; Theresa Kleinheinz, West Division High School; Merton S. Lean, Riverside High School; Alma Merrick, Bradford High School, Kenosha; Helen Paulsen, Longfellow Junior High, Wauwatosa; Lorane Raup, Portage High School, Portage; Helen Reilly, West Division High School; Vera Sheffner, Oshkosh High School, Oshkosh; Elva Shields, Central High, LaCrosse; Dorothea Wagner, Central High, Sheboygan; Esther Weightman, Wisconsin High, Madison, *Chairman*; Edna Wiegand, Lawrence College, Appleton.

HOTELS

Hotel Pfister (Headquarters), 425 E. Wisconsin Ave., corner Jefferson Avenue. Rates: single, \$3.50 and up; double, \$6.00 and up.

Other hotels within walking distance and on the Green Bus Line:

Hotel Astor, 924 E. Juneau Ave., corner Astor Street. Rates: single, \$4.00, \$4.50; double, \$6.50 and up.

Hotel Knickerbocker, 1028 E. Juneau near corner Astor Street. Rates: single, \$5.00 and up; double, \$7.50 and up.

On the Green Bus Line, a mile or so distant from Headquarters:

Abbott Crest Hotel, 1226 W. Wisconsin Ave., across from Marquette University. Rates: single, \$2.00, \$3.00, \$4.00; double \$3.00-\$5.50.

Schroeder Hotel, 509 W. Wisconsin Ave., corner 5th Street. Rates: single, \$3.55, \$4.00 \$4.50, \$5.00; double, \$7.70 and up.

Shorecrest Hotel, 1961 N. Summit Ave., corner Prospect and Lafayette Avenues. Rates: single, \$3.50-\$5.00; double \$5.50-\$7.50.

Within a block of the Green Bus Line and a mile or so from Headquarters:

Medford Hotel, 605 N. 3rd Street, corner Michigan Ave. Rates: single, \$3.00-\$3.50; with toilet but without bath, \$2.50-\$2.65;

double, \$4.00-\$5.00; with toilet but without bath, \$3.50-\$3.65.

Plankinton Hotel, 609 N. Plankinton Ave., corner Michigan Ave. Rates: single, \$3.00 and up; double, \$5.50 and up.

IMPORTANT

Members are urged to make reservations early with Mrs. Thomas MacKedon, 2821 E. Bellevue Pl., Milwaukee 11, Wis.

TRANSPORTATION

Milwaukee may be reached by the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific, and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroads; by the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Electric Railroad; by the Badger Coach Lines, Cardinal Bus Lines, Green Bay Stages, Greyhound Lines, and Peoria-Rockford Bus Lines; and by the American, Capital, and Northwest Airlines.

The Pfister Hotel may be reached by any Green Bus on West Wisconsin Avenue headed east, or any Green Bus on Prospect or Maryland Avenues headed south or west. Streetcars and buses on Wells Street or Michigan Avenue are almost as convenient. Disembark at Jefferson Avenue. There are several taxicab companies.

—Note

THUCYDIDES AND RUSSIAN POWER

NOBODY can read Thucydides without constantly seeing the factors of modern political life recognized 2400 years ago. One important statement of the great historian, however, seems to have remained unnoticed. In Book 2. 97.6 he mentions the Scythians: "No people in Europe equals them in power, and even in Asia no single people has the power to resist the Scythians when all united under a common will."

If we consider that geopolitically the Rus-

sians are the successors of the Scythians and that their rulers from Ivan and Peter to Stalin have molded all the tribes of the huge "Scythian" plains under one iron rule, we find Thucydides anticipating Mackinder and Haushofer and all their disciples who either recognized or utilized the famous geopolitical heartland theory.

F. M. WASSERMANN

Southwestern at Memphis

BOOK REVIEWS

HORACE

SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT, *Horace, A Biography*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1947). Pp. ix + 182. \$3.00.

MR. SEDGWICK'S PURPOSE in this biography is to recommend Horace to those who are unacquainted with him. He tells the story of Horace's life clearly and simply, and he portrays the poet as a "jolly good fellow," a pleasant dinner companion, a poet of "civilized" men, the kind of person one should like to know better. The book is addressed, not to school children, but to "the middle-aged and the old," to whom, Sedgwick believes, Horace chiefly appeals.

As the author's purpose is to gain new friends for Horace, he emphasizes the most attractive features of the poet's work. He loves to enumerate the poet's virtues, as in the following sentences: "But in the country he shows himself as he is, cheerful, gay, good-humored, friendly, meditative, grateful, reverent, and composed" (p. 53); and "... these epistles are friendly, familiar letters plentifully supplied with gaiety, kindness, good sense, wit, and unconcealed affection, and reveal most agreeably why his friends loved him" (p. 126). Sedgwick shares with his readers the many pleasant associations suggested to him by a reading of Horace: a line from Gray's *Elegy*, a mood of Heinrich Heine, an inspired phrase of Luther, the Miracle at Cana, Milton preaching, Tennyson's *Light Brigade*—the list could be extended indefinitely.

The praise of Horace, however, is tempered with criticism. Horace is sometimes "exceedingly dull"; and the second *Satire* of the first book is insipid and repellent as well. Many of the *Satires* and *Epodes*, and a few of the *Epistles*, Sedgwick advises the reader to skip, remarking that they are of interest only to

the scholar, who is by definition "a man who dares not skip."

The nature and scope of the volume preclude any detailed treatment of the many controversies that center about the life and writings of Horace. Difficult problems of chronology, sources, literary theory and practice, are mentioned only briefly or not at all. Indeed, the reader sometimes detects in the book a certain antagonism toward scholarship. Yet Sedgwick seldom hesitates to take a stand on any controversial matters that may enter into his exposition, and on several occasions he defends his views at some length. The problems that interest him are those that have a bearing on the moral character of Horace and his friends. He argues, for example, that Maecenas was not a fop, that Lyde was not a trollop, and that Horace did not have a villa at Tibur. In each instance the conclusive argument is drawn from his conception of the character of Horace.

The book contains extended quotations from Horace, both in Latin and in English translation. Most of the translations (including both prose and verse) were made by the author, and they reflect the same freedom and ease that characterize the rest of the book. Often they are hardly more than paraphrases, amplifying, condensing, and altering the text at will. The name of Lucretius, for instance, is inserted into the translation of *Sat.* 1. 5; *Epist.* 2. 2 is shortened almost beyond recognition; and the final lines of *Epist.* 1. 3 are rearranged. The phrase "posset qui ferre secundas" (*Sat.* 1. 9. 46) is translated: "who could render your affairs prosperous." We must of course recognize that the author is entitled to present Horace's poems to the reader in the form which he considers most appropriate to his purpose; but to

one who believes that an accurate text is the first requisite for the study of an ancient author, unnecessary freedom appears undesirable even in a translation.

Latin teachers will no doubt welcome Sedgwick's book as a testimonial to the perennial appeal of Horace's poems, and they will enjoy its lively and lucid account of the story of Horace's life. If it achieves its broader purpose of winning new readers for Horace, it will have performed a worthwhile task that more scholarly works are too often unable to achieve.

PHILLIP DE LACY

University of Chicago

—Current Events

Vergilian Society

A Report

CONCERNING ACTIVITIES of the Vergilian Society which were announced in an advertisement in the present issue of *CJ*, the editors have received communications from Mrs. Mary E. Raiola, in charge of the Classical Summer School of Cumae, and Mrs. Lily Hawkinson of Upland, California, one of our subscribers, who was with Mrs. Raiola in Naples last summer.

The report is that the Classical Summer School, which was expected to convene its first session since before the war, did not open because of the shortage of housing and transportation facilities. Furthermore the villa at Cumae which housed the school had been pillaged by occupying troops during the war, and furniture, books, and works of art were stolen or destroyed.

However, although no formal course of instruction was given, transient students appeared during the summer. In August a group from the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome was conducted on a week's tour which included Naples, Cumae, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Puteoli, Baiae, Misenum, Paestum, Amalfi,

Sorrento, and Capri, with Professor Amadeo Maiuri, Director of the National Museum of Naples, and Professor Olga Flia, in charge of excavations at Pompeii, as guides and lecturers.

Mrs. Hawkinson writes enthusiastically of Cumae and other places that she visited during the summer. Of Puteoli, for example: "I saw there the temple of Serapis and the amphitheater of Diocletian. This is far more interesting than Rome's Colosseum. It is older and has the added distinction of being the training and mating place for the animals shipped in from Africa. Long corridors underground solidly built, as only Romans could build, well ventilated and well supplied with water, connected the rooms which held the leopards and tigers so necessary for Roman holidays all over Italy." Of Professor Maiuri she says: "Although he lectures in Italian, one familiar with Latin can understand him, so beautifully modulated and carefully enunciated are his words."

Next summer's activities may be expected to be unusually significant in view of the bicentenary program of which the following announcement has been received.

CELEBRATION OF THE BICENTENARY OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT POMPEII

APRIL-SEPTEMBER 1948

April. COMMEMORATION of the bicentenary of the excavations at Pompeii in the great hall of the Naples Society of Sciences, Letters, and Fine Arts in the University building.

MESSAGE to Italian and foreign universities and academies to be read by all on the same day so that they also will take part in the commemoration of the bicentenary.

INAUGURATION of a Pompeian bibliographical exhibit in the Salon of the University Library of Naples. Exhibition of publications and prints illustrating more especially the scientific side of the work and the progress of the excavations from 1748 until today. Special attention will be called to the great publications of the Herculaneum Academy and to the great Italian and foreign collections on the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum.

May-June. REOPENING of the Pompeian Museum, enlarged and rearranged after the war damages

of 1943. Besides the Italian authorities and leading representatives of culture and art, the directors of the foreign archaeological and historical institutes and academies in Rome and Italian and foreign Pompeian scholars are expected at this inauguration.

INAUGURATION and illustrations of the buildings excavated for the occasion of the bicentenary. The villa of Julia Felice, completion of the excavations of the great gymnasium. (This part of the program will depend on the grant of the necessary funds.)

REARRANGEMENT and reopening of the Pompeian collections of the National Museum of Naples. Paintings, household goods, silverware, farm implements and trade tools.

May. WEEKLY LECTURES and visits to the excavations by qualified scholars. Groups of students and Neopolitan craftsmen should attend these lectures and visits.

June-July. CLASSICAL PERFORMANCES in the great theater of Pompeii; plays by Plautus and Terence will be selected. Classical dances and musical performances in the Odeon.

July-August. NIGHTLY ILLUMINATION of the forums at Pompeii by new and improved methods.

August-September. ATHLETIC MATCHES in the great gymnasium. (This will depend on the completion of the excavations.)

September. INAUGURATION of the works for removing the rubbish heaps from the excavations. These works will insulate the whole area of the pomerium and will assure the continuity of the excavations.

DURING THE PERIOD of the Pompeian celebrations educational excursions to the leading archaeological, artistic, and tourist resorts of the Campania will be organized, where excavations and restorations have already been carried out.

PLACES

Herculaneum. EXCURSIONS and lectures illustrating the special interest of the new excavations at Herculaneum. It is confidently hoped that it will be possible to extend the excavations of the monuments of the forum of Herculaneum.

Phlegrean Fields. SPECIAL STRESS will be laid on il-

lustrating the Phlegrean Fields from the geophysical, scenic, and archaeological standpoints. It should be remembered that just recently the vaults of the arena of the amphitheater of Pozzuoli have been cleared, and they now afford the most complete and perfect example known of the arrangements made in the arenas for the great games.

Capri. THE EXCAVATIONS of the "Damecuta" will be completed by 1948 and the means of communication with the two largest imperial villas of the island, Villa Jovis and Damecuta, will be improved.

Naples. AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, reopening of the collections still closed to the public: paintings and mosaics, small bronzes, jewelry, coins, Art Gallery, Hall of the Tapestries.

Benevento. REARRANGEMENT and opening of the "Antequarium" at Benevento.

PUBLICATIONS

(1) ONE OR TWO VOLUMES will be published containing studies and inquiries illustrating not only the archaeological and historical but also the geophysical and scenic aspects of the life and the social, economic, and urbanistic conditions of Pompeii, not yet adequately studied and illustrated. Eminent scholars are already at work on these publications.

(2) A HISTORY of Pompeian studies edited by A. Maiuri.

(3) "THE POMPEIAN BICENTENARY," a collection of memoirs and prints relating to the first excavations made at Pompeii, to be published as a special number of the review *La Parola Sul Passato*, will be presented to the guests of special distinction invited to attend the Pompeian celebrations.

COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL

A COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL will be struck by the Ministry of Public Education on the occasion of the bicentenary and will be offered to those scholars and organizations who have done most to promote by their studies the progress of the Pompeian excavations.

CANE

The Classical Association of New England will hold its forty-second annual meeting at Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., on Friday and Saturday, April 2 and 3, 1948.

"CHECK LIST OF RECENT BOOKS"

(Continued from Page 374)

matique et d'antiquités grecques. Vol. II, 157 pages, 2 pls.; Vol. III, 175 pages, 14 pls. Maisonneuve, Paris 1947 760, 980 fr

8. HISTORY OF ART

GRABAR, A. *Martyrium. Recherche sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*. Vol. I, 637 pages, ill.; vol. II, 402 pages, 70 pls. Maisonneuve, Paris 1947 2,500 fr

L'ORANGE, H. P. *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*. Kegan Paul, London 1947 £1 12s 6d

II. TEXTBOOKS

DEFARRARI, ROY J. and SISTER FRANCIS JOSEPH. *First Year Latin*. 320 pages, ill., maps, diagrs. Bruce, Milwaukee 1947 (Marian Latin Series) \$2.00

GOULD, H. E. and J. L. WHITELEY. *Caesar's Gallic War*, Book II. 126 pages. Macmillan, London 1947 3s

GOULD, H. E. and J. I. WHITELEY. *Vergil's Aeneid*, Book I. 161 pages. Macmillan, London 1947 3s

NAHM, MILTON C. (Editor). *Selections from Early Greek Philosophy*. Third, revised edition; 268 pages. Crofts, New York 1947-\$1.50

ROBINSON, C. E. (Editor). *Selections from the Letters of Pliny*. 111 pages, ill. Macmillan, New York 1947 (Roman World Series) .90

WILLIAMSON, I. *The Friday Afternoon Latin Book*. 79 pages. Blackie, London 1947 2s 3d

12. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

BAKER, GEORGE. *Paris of Troy*. 220 pages, maps. Ziff-Davis, Chicago 1947 \$2.75.

HARVARD Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. 56-57. 265 pages. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1947 \$4.00

LEHMANN, KARL. *Thomas Jefferson: American Humanist*. 273 pages. Macmillan, New York 1947 \$4.50

In our April issue—

"STARS IN EARTH'S FIRMAMENT"

The Latin names of flowers

By Emory Cochran

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

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Classics 128. *PLAUTUS*. Reading and discussion of two plays; study of the influence of Greek New Comedy on Plautus, and of Plautus on the subsequent development of comedy. Asst. Professor Lionel Casson. TTh, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 248. *ARISTOPHANES, ACHARNIANS*. Contents of the play; evaluation of its importance in the Aristophanic corpus; lectures on the development of Attic comedy. Advanced students will read a second play. Dr. Procope S. Costas. MW, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 290. *THE ANCIENT CITY*. Principal ancient city types; sites, plans, defenses, public works, markets, industries, housing, and places of worship, as illustrated by archaeological reports. Assoc. Professor Jotham Johnson. MTh, 2:30-5:00 P.M.

For Graduate School Announcements and application forms, address the Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University, New York 3, N.Y. For other information or for personal counsel, address the departmental adviser, Professor Jotham Johnson, Department of Classics, New York University, New York 3, N.Y.

Addenda to Hutchinson's Bibliography of a Latin Teachers Course

In the last six or seven years, considerable publication has gone on in the field of the teaching of foreign languages. It seemed advisable to supplement my earlier Bibliography with significant articles and books which have appeared in this field in recent years. Most of the references do not go back further than 1940. The material has been listed under five headings:

- I. *Place of Latin in the Secondary Schools*
- II. *Ultimate or Educational Objectives of the Study of Latin*
- III. *Content of Latin Course in Secondary Education*
- IV. *Methods of Teaching Latin*
- V. *Measurement of Accomplishment in Latin*

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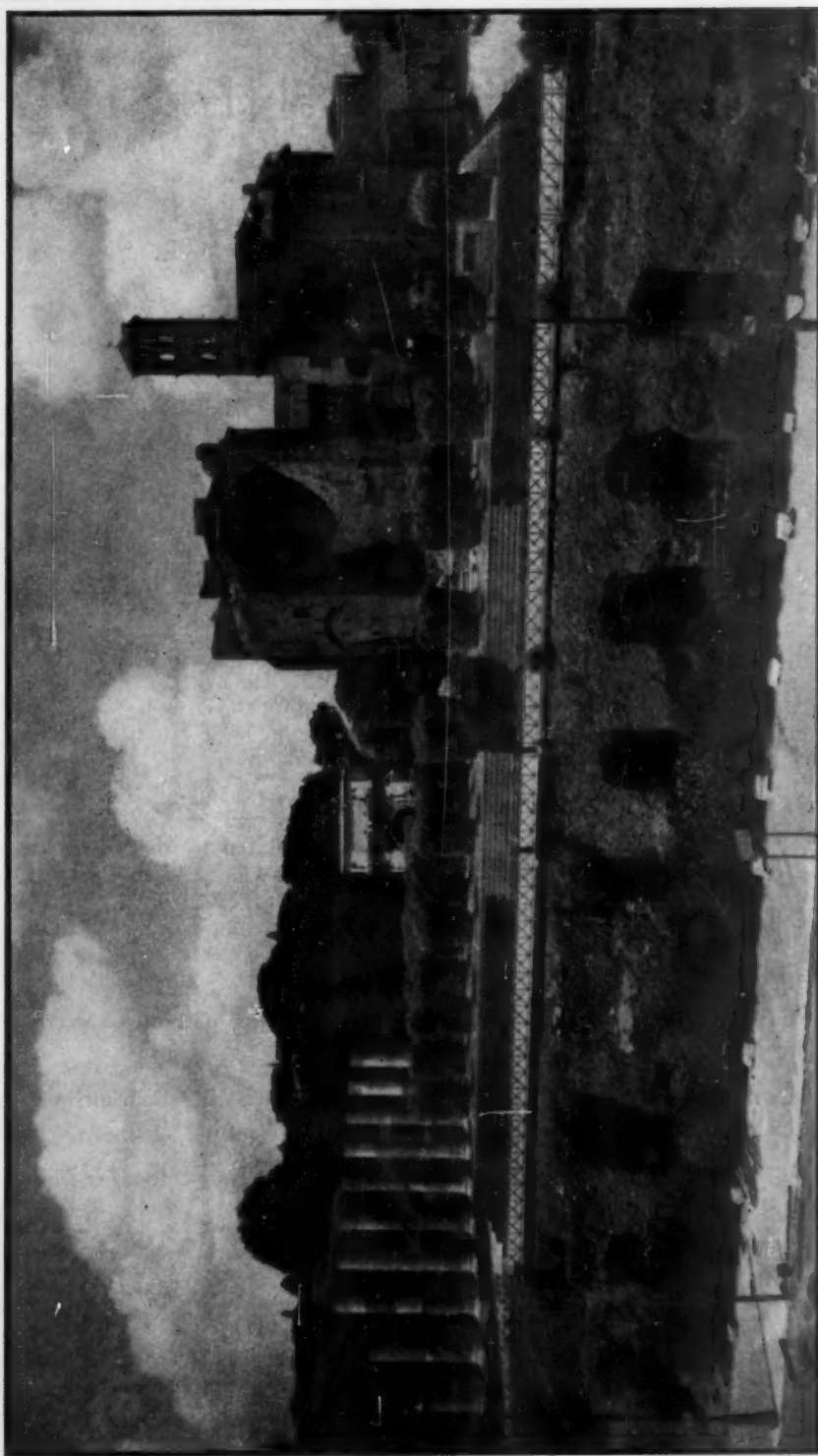
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A VIEW FROM MODERN ROME

A PLEASING PICTURE OF THE REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME, TAKEN FROM THE COLOSSEUM. THE ARCH OF TITUS IS VISIBLE AT THE LEFT.

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